

# The Classical Review

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## ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

AJAX FURENS. (Soph. *Ai.* 143-147.)

TRULY may we say πολλὰι θεραπεΐαι  
καὶ παντοδαπαὶ εὐρηνται for the νόσος in

σὲ τὸν ἵππομανῇ  
λειμῶν' ἐπιβάντ' ὀλέσαι Δαναῶν  
βοτὰ καὶ λείαν.

Yet a cure has not been effected, and solely because a correct diagnosis of the case has not been made—ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἄλλη φάρμακον κεῖται νόσῳ. We have imagined ἵππομανῇ to be the part affected (hence the numerous explanations and emendations), whereas the physician should make an incision with his punctuation-scalpel immediately below, must separate the offending ὀλέσαι from the offended Δαναῶν βοτὰ, in order to insure a restoration of the body of the text to its original soundness; for βοτὰ is not the object of ὀλέσαι; λειμῶνα is not governed by ἐπιβάντα; and, finally, σέ is not the subject of the infinitive.

One tiny stroke of the pen gives χειμῶνα—and good sense. The combination ἵππομανῇ λειμῶνα alone should have made us hesitate. Why should the poet lug in this irrelevant epithet and represent Ajax as going to the meadow full of horses to kill sheep and oxen? The translations are significant. Donner's is so ridiculous, because it is so true to our text: 'In der Rosse Gefild . . . Das erbeutete Vieh . . . gemordet.' Some translators evade the difficulty. So Schöll:

im Waidegefeld  
Einbruch Du thatst.

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Campbell's rendering is:

To the cattle-browsed mead,  
Wild with prancing steed.

Furthermore, the combination λειμῶν' ἐπιβάντα should bid us pause. Ajax says simply εἶμι πρὸς λειμῶνας (655). The command to Io is ἔξελθε πρὸς (*Prom.* 652). Other turns are τέτραπται ἐς (*H. Hymn. Merc.* 221), ἵκοντο κατὰ (*Od.* xxiv. 13); but never λειμῶν' ἐπιβαίνειν. The genitive would be required under any circumstances, and λειμῶνος ἐπιβάντα is precluded by the metre, to say nothing of the sense. In short, λειμῶν' ἐπιβάντα is not Greek.

In the mariners' first utterance they fear that a πλεγή Διὸς ἐπέβη, and later they conjecture ἦκοι ἂν θεία νόσος. They do not know from what particular deity; but they surmise that it may have been Artemis, or Enyalios. Odysseus knows that it was Athene, for she has informed him. Calchas knows—for he is a seer—and so reports to Teucer. But the mariners are not apprised of this fact; they have merely gathered from the dread rumours that a stroke from some angry deity has come upon their lord, and that this is in the form of a λυσσώδη νόσον (452). Ajax is deflected from the right course (183) by λύσσης πνεύματι, as Io was (*Prom.* 883). Hence all they mean by σέ . . . ἐλάσαι is Μανία ἱππελάτειρα ἤλασέν σε ἐπιβάσα. Quintus Smyrnaeus, in speaking of this very incident, says: Τριτωνίς . . . ἐσκέδασεν Μανίην . . . πνέουσαν

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δλεθρον (5. 542). Mania, like Apollo, frena furenti concutit et stimulos sub pectore uertit (Verg. *Aen.* 6. 100). So Lyssa rides in a chariot and drives the mad Heracles: *μανιάσιν λύσσαις* . . . *βέβακεν ἐν δίφροισιν* . . . *ἄρμασι δ' ἐνδίδωσι κέντρον* . . . *Λύσσα* (Eur. *H.F.* 878). Cp. *Or.* 270 *μανιάσιν λυσσήμασι*, Soph. *Fr.* 678 *λύσσα μαινάς*, Hdt. 6. 75 *μανίη νοῦσος*. The nurse in the *Hippolytus* wonders what god drives Phaedra: *ὅστις σε θεῶν ἀνασειράζει | καὶ παρακώπτει φρένας* (237). The madness of Ajax is a *θεία μανία* (611). Io calls hers a *θεόσσοντον χειμῶνα* (*Prom.* 643), precisely as the chorus characterise the frenzy of Ajax. Cp. *Phil.* 1194 f. *ἀλύοντα χειμέριφ' | λύπα καὶ παρὰ νοῦν θροεῖν*.

If we adopt any one of the half dozen interpretations proposed by scholars, we do violence to the general sense, and to every word from the beginning to the end, either in meaning, in construction, or in both. Even the article is out of place, in this anarthrous parados, if we retain *λειμῶν* . . . *ὀλέσαι*; and commentators, both in antiquity and in the modern world, vacillate between the pronoun and the noun—*τόν* swinging now back to *σέ*, now forward to *λειμῶνα*. But with *χειμῶνα* the article falls into its place as a necessary part of the sentence. The substantive alone would have been too indefinite. Besides, it is this fact that chiefly concerns the mariners; the slaughter of the kine and sheep is a secondary consideration, hence expressed, subordinately, by the participle. The murmurs that beset them *ἐπὶ δυσκλείᾳ* have to do principally with the affliction of their lord; from their point of view *κτείνοντα* (= *ὥστε κτείνειν*, like *πίτνων* in 185) is of minor importance.

If further proof is needed that we have totally misconceived the poet's meaning, a consideration of the use and construction of *ἐπιβάντ' ὀλέσαι* is sufficient, I think, to convert the greatest sceptic. Sophocles could say *παῖδας σφάττειν*, but not *βοῦς ὀλέσαι*—at least the Greeks did not use the phrase, as we do not say 'murder cattle.' Arrant scepticism might protest that Ajax thought he was killing *men*; but we must not forget that the statement is

put in the mouth of the Salaminian sailor; and the fact remains that among the thousand or more examples of *δλλυμι* and *ἀπολλυμι* we do not find a single parallel to *ὀλέσαι βοτά*. The verb *διαφθείρω* is rarely so used, e.g. Hdt. 9. 93 (of wolves destroying sheep). The ordinary verbs are *σφάττειν*, *ἐναίρειν* (Eur. *Hipp.* 1129, Soph. *Phil.* 955), *κτανεῖν* (*Ion* 348), *κτείνειν* (Hdt. 2. 41), *ἐξάίρειν* (1. 36, Eur. *Hipp.* 18), *κατακαίνειν* (Xen. *Cyr.* 7. 1. 48). Cp. Soph. *Ai.* 298 *ἠνχέειζε* . . . *ἔσφαζε κάρραχιζε*, 324 *βοτοῖς σιδηροκμήσιν* (= 147). The combination *ἵππους ἀπολλύνουσι* in Thuc. 7. 51. 2 is of course entirely different.

The proof deduced from the construction of *ἐπιβαίνειν* is even more conclusive. Sophocles never employs this verb with the accusative. In Aeschylus *ἐπιβαίνειν* occurs once (*λέκτρων*); in Euripides eighteen times, and regularly with the genitive (*νεῶν*, *τεθρίππων*, *χθονός*), the accusative only four times: *Ion* 1242 *τεθρίππων χαλὰν ἐπιβάσα*, *Hipp.* 1132 *συζυγίαν πώλων ἐπιβάσῃ* (in choral odes, and both poetic expressions for *ἐπὶ πώλους ἀναβαίνειν*), *Bacch.* 1097 *ἀντίπυργον ἐπιβάσαι πέτραι*, *Troad.* 1078 *οὐράνιον ἔδρανον ἐπιβεβώς*. The last two involve the idea of climbing, and are identical with the first two, and with *ἐπιβάντα* in our passage. Cp. Thuc. 2. 4 *ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβάντες*. The preposition does double duty; *ἐπὶ* being prefixed to the verb, *ἀνά* is dispensed with. Aristophanes uses neither *ἐπιβαίνειν* nor *ἐπιβάσιν*. In prose the verb is comparatively rare in any sense: never in Antiphon, never in Isocrates, once in Lysias (6. 15 *τῶν ἱερῶν*), once in Lycurgus (108 *τῆς Ἀττικῆς*), once in Aeschines (2. 82 *Χερρονήσου*), once in Dinarchus (1. 44 *χώρας*), and five times in Demosthenes (1. 12; 19. 87; 19. 311; 23. 183; 60. 20), all with the genitive. Herodotus uses *ἐπιβαίνειν* in the same way: 1. 84 *τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τεύχους* (cp. Thuc. 4. 116), 1. 181 *ἐπὶ τούτῳ* . . . *ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε*. Cp. 1. 191. In 7. 50 there is a seeming exception; but an examination of the passage shows that we have not here to do with an expression similar to *ἐξελεῖν πρὸς λειμῶνα*. The addition of *ἔθνος* alone

indicates the nature of the *ἐπίβασις*. Moreover, the genitive *τῶν* precedes, and the genitive *τούτων* follows; as these are in the plural, Herodotus was practically limited to the use of a phrase like *γῆν καὶ ἔθνος* (even if this be not a scholiast's explanation); for *τῶν ἂν κου ἐπιβέωμεν* is in feeling precisely the same as Aeschines 2. 82: what the historian means is *ἡστίνος ἂν χώρας ἐπιβέωμεν*, and if the sentence had assumed this form, the genitive *γῆς* would have been used. Thucydides employs the verb eleven times, mostly with *ναῦς* (twice absolutely, *embarked*, as in *Ai.* 358), once with the genitive of the country (*i.* 103. 1), and once in the participle, in a phrase similar to *Ai.* 144. Plato and Xenophon do not use the verb differently: *Leg.* 864 E *ἐπιβάς τῆς οἰκείας χώρας*, 666 B (*ἐτών*), *Laches* 183 B *ἄκρῳ ποδὶ ἐπιβαίνειν*. In brief, there are no examples in the classical literature of *ἐπιβαίνειν* with the accusative (= *ἐλθεῖν πρὸς*); nor have I met with any in post-classical Greek, although examples of the normal usage are common, e.g. Lucian, *D. Marin.* 15 *ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἄρματος*.

The regular prose phrase is *ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἤλασε* (*Xen. Cyr.* 4. 1. 7), hence *ἀναβάτης*, 'rider'; but in the older language *ἐπιβαίνειν* alone, hence *ἐπιβάτης*—the ascent is left unexpressed, to be inferred, and *ἐπὶ* acquires the meaning of 'upon.' When Xenophon gives directions for mounting a horse (*De Re Eq.* 7. 2), he first describes the *ἀνάβασις*, then instructs the rider how to throw his leg over on the other side, and, finally, *τότε καὶ τὸ γλουτὸν κατὰ θέτω ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον* (down on the horse). The preposition signifies 'on,' whether it be 'down on,' or 'up on.' So in Homer, in the only example with the accusative (*ε* 50 *Περίην ἐπιβάς*), Hermes is described as coming down on Pieria from Olympus, before he falls into the sea, precisely as the *χειμῶν* on Ajax. Even Eustathius is struck with the accusative in the Homeric passage: *ἡ ἀναστροφὴν ἔχει, ἡ ἀρχαϊκῶς αἰτιατικῇ συντέτακται*. To a Greek, accustomed as he was to a landscape of mountains with broken outlines, nothing could be more natural than to conceive a god as descending in this manner. Pieria is

high, but not so high as Olympus, and so forms a stepping-stone to the sea (not *transiit per*, as scholars generally interpret); Hermes sets his foot on Pieria. The poet might have said *κατέβη καὶ ἐπέβη* (*βῆμ' ἐβη ἐπὶ*, instead of *διὰ*, *Ar. Eq.* 76), precisely as he says *ἀμβαίη . . . ἐπιβαίη* (*μ* 77). Compare the expressions in Hippocrates *τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἐπιβεβῶτα, ἐπιβαίνειν τῷ σκέλει, ἐπιβῆναι τῷ ποδὶ καὶ ὀχηθῆναι*. Cp. *H. Cer.* 457 *ἐνθ' ἐπέβη ἀπ' αἰθέρος*. There are nearly threescore examples of *ἐπιβαίνειν* in Homer, and the construction is regularly the genitive (*ἵππων, ὄχλων, δίφρου, σχεδῆς, νηῶν, πύργων, αἰψ, εὐνῆς, γούνων*).

The participle *ἐπιβάντα*, then, means 'getting on' (*ἀναβάντ' ἐπὶ*, *Xen. Cyr.* 4. 1. 7, *Lys.* 24. 5, over a hundred examples). Jebb contents himself with remarking (in his note on 138) that the accusative with *ἐπιβῆ* is rare; but he cites no example; and in his note on 144 (with an additional note in the appendix) he says not a word about the construction of *λειμῶν' ἐπιβάντα*, but devotes his whole attention (as have all editors) to a discussion of the strange phrase *τὸν ἵππομανῆ λειμῶνα*.

The assertion that *λειμῶν' ἐπιβάντα* is not Greek might seem to be controverted by *σὲ ἐπιβῆ* in the preceding sentence. But the position of the verb alone would preclude argument on this score. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the audience would think of *σέ* as the direct object of the verb. The chorus begin with *σὲ μὲν* in 136, and this is naturally followed by *σὲ δέ* in 137. Even the first *σέ*, though so close to *ἐπιχαίρω*, is not the object of the verb. The pronoun, with the participle, is held up as an object of thought, and the verb follows. We find an exact parallel in *Eur. Hipp.* 1341 *εὐσεβεῖς θεοὶ | θνήσκοντας οὐ χαίρουσι*. No other explanation is possible, since *χαίρειν* is used by Euripides regularly with the dative. Cp. *Or.* 803 *εἰ σε μὴ 'ν δειναῖσιν ὄντα συμφοραῖς ἐπαρκέσω*. In fact, *ἐπιβάντα* in 144 is merely a resumption of *ἐπιβῆ* in 138. We have statements of two conditions in the first utterance of the chorus (when their lord's fortunes are fair, and when they

are not), and then a more specific account of the second in vv. 143-144:

σὲ μὲν εὖ πρᾶσσοντ' ἐπιχαίρω  
σὲ δὲ κακῶς πρᾶσσοντα πεφύβημαι.

ὅταν πληγὴ ἐπιβῇ = χειμῶν' ἐπιβάντα, which is made more definite by τὸν ἵππομανῆ.

No other explanation seems to me possible, if ἵππομανῆ is sound. But is it not probable that Sophocles wrote ἵπομανῆ? If so, the text remains intact—with the sole exception of χ for λ. Struck (Lat. *ico*) by the καταιβάτης black tempest of frenzy, Ajax θολερῶ κείται χειμῶνι (207) ἱπούμενος (Aesch. *Prom.* 365). Cp. Lucian, *Peregr.* 43 γνόφον καταβάντος, *Char.* 3 χειμῶν ἄφνω καὶ γνόφος ἐμπεσών, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 2 θολερὸν ὄμβρων ἐπιγινόμενων, *Timol.* 27 θολερὸς ἀήρ, Polyb. 3. 55. 2 ἐπὶ τὴν

ὑποκάτω . . . ἐπιβαίνειν. The storm came down on Ajax like an ἵπος, and μέγα ἔφατο αὐτόν (A 454), i.e. κατέβλαψε (Hesych.), whereas in O.T. 1299, where the image of the tempest's fury is absent, we have simply προσέβη μανία. Cp. λυσσομανής, αἰνομανής, ἡμιμανής, πολυμανής, ζηλομανής, οἰστρομανής. The chorus, like Tecmessa in 216 (μανία ἄλoὺς νύκτερος Αἴας ἀπελωβήθη), is here asserting that Ajax was undone in the night just fled: ὡς καὶ τῆς νῦν φθιμένης νυκτός . . . σὲ τὸν ἵπομανῆ χειμῶν' ἐπιβάντ' ὀλέσαι, which, as shown by ὡς, is nothing more nor less than a direct explanation of ὅταν πληγὴ ἐπιβῇ in the preceding sentence, the meaning of the general statement being unfolded in the specific instance.

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## TWENTY LINES OF THE AGAMEMNON.

THE chorus of the *Agamemnon*, which comes in at line 40, chants in anapaests from that line as far as 82 to itself or to the audience in the ordinary way of a Greek tragic chorus. Lines 83-103 are addressed, also in anapaests, to Clytemnestra. At 104 the chorus passes into lyrics, which last down to 257 and are not addressed specifically to anyone. Finally in 258-263 it speaks (that is, the coryphaeus speaks) to Clytemnestra in iambs.

What is the exact relation of Clytemnestra to lines 83-103? Is she visible to the chorus and the audience or not? Three views may be held.

(1) Clytemnestra is taken to be on the stage (or at the back of the orchestra) engaged in lighting fires or offering sacrifices at the altars. If this is so, she takes no notice of the chorus' appeal to her, though they are somewhat urgent for information. They ask what tidings she has received, but they receive no answer. Her presence during the chanting of 40-82, or some of it, would be against the ordinary practice of Greek tragedy, in which a chanting or singing chorus usually has the boards to itself. Still more unusual

would be her presence throughout 104-257, and the editors who take view (1) do not seem to say explicitly whether they think she stays during the choral song or goes away without deigning a reply to the chorus and returns again at or before 257, where the chorus, apparently unconscious of her discourtesy, again addresses her.

(2) She may be not visible to the chorus and audience at all, but within hearing, although inside the palace. Such is probably the situation in *Ajax* 134 ff., where the chorus in anapaests and then in lyrics addresses the hero repeatedly. But the cases are not really parallel. Ajax is only in a tent or hut, and his sailor-companions may count with fair confidence on his hearing what they say or sing, just as at 89-91 he hears the call of Athena and comes out. The palace of Agamemnon is another thing, and it would be against dramatic propriety that the chorus should address twenty lines to someone supposed to be inside it, taking the chance of her hearing. We should have to conclude also either that she did not hear or that she would not take any notice.

(3) The chorus only apostrophises



the absent queen and does not really address her or expect her to hear. So for instance in *Hippolytus* 141 ff. the chorus apostrophises Phaedra in her absence. This too may be the case in the *Ajax* scene. Possibly Ajax is not supposed to hear. So at least some scholars seem to take it; Jebb is not explicit on the point. But in the *Agamemnon* the question in 85 and still more the very direct λέξασα κ.τ.λ. of 97 seem almost to preclude this possibility. Nor is it in itself probable. The queen is in no personal situation, like Ajax or Phaedra, to suggest an apostrophe. The chorus are not anxious about her.

The view which I wish to suggest is that lines 83-103 are out of their proper place and should be put after line 257. Clytemnestra appears at the end of the choral song, not before it or in the course of it, and the chorus addresses her first in anapaests and then in half a dozen iambs. So in 783-

809 it addresses Agamemnon in anapaests at the end of its lyrical song. So at the end of the lyrical song *Persae* 65-139, prefaced by an anapaestic parodos like *Agam.* 40-82, the chorus passes again into a few anapaestic lines and then addresses Atossa directly in four trochaic tetrameters.

The difficulties incidental to the three theories above stated are avoided by this suggestion. The address to the queen becomes one, not two: continuous, not intermittent: effectual, not at first disregarded. Also it should be noticed how effective is the immediate sequence of 104-107 upon 72-82, the contrast of what the chorus can still do with what they can do no longer. The μέριμνα κακόφρων of 99 is also more in place after the long lyrical song, especially 165 ff., 249 ff., than before it. The anapaestic monotony of 43-103 is much reduced by the change.

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#### A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORER AND HIS METHODS.

In a volume of miscellaneous letters and papers collected by Bishop Tanner, bound up in the beginning of the eighteenth century and preserved in the Bodleian Library, is a short paper concerning the discovery of ancient statues in Greece, which appears to be of sufficient interest to merit being printed in full. The notes or instructions for digging, for so they can best be described, cover about seven folio pages; they have no beginning, they come to an abrupt end, and there is no definite indication of authorship. The handwriting, firm and flowing in character, belongs to the early part—certainly to a period before the middle—of the seventeenth century, and from this evidence of date, and from the substance of the paper, it seems likely to be by William Petty, to whose genius and enterprise was due a great part of the collections of Thomas, Earl of Arundel. It is even possible that it is in his own handwriting. The point has not been decided, for the only specimens that

I have been able to trace are signatures,<sup>1</sup> which are obviously unsatisfactory as examples of the current script. Perhaps it would be a safer guess to assign the actual manuscript to the hand of a contemporary clerk. The reasons for attributing the Notes to Petty, to be drawn from internal evidence, are worth careful consideration. A good deal of information concerning his manner of searching for classical treasures can be found in Sir Thomas Roe's Correspondence, and the methods prescribed in the Notes are vividly suggested. No life of Petty is included in the Dictionary of National Biography, and as the slight notices of him that exist contain discordant statements, an outline of his career may be attempted.

Apparently there is no connexion between this William Petty and the well-known Sir William, who became the

<sup>1</sup> I owe tracings of Petty's signatures from the Audit Book of Jesus College, Cambridge, to the kindness of Dr. Foakes Jackson. The name occurs in 1613 and 1615.

ancestor of the house of Lansdowne. Nor was he, as was supposed by Sir Henry Ellis, and Dallaway,<sup>1</sup> the incumbent of Thorley in the Isle of Wight, whose annotated correspondence with various scholars is preserved in the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> According to a MS. history of Jesus College, Cambridge, by John Sherman,<sup>3</sup> he was a native of Yorkshire, who graduated M.A. from Christ's College. In the first decade of the seventeenth century he was master of the Grammar School at Beverley, whence he returned to Cambridge in 1612, as fellow of Jesus College, bringing with him, says Sherman, very many pupils, both *generosi* and *sizars*, his disciples. Among these was Sir Hugh Cholmley, then a child of thirteen, and in his *Memoirs* we find an account of Petty, which has been quoted by Richard Gough and others to the effect that he was given to drinking, and a very bad influence upon young men.<sup>4</sup> It is very unlikely that such a charge should be true of a man who was chosen, immediately afterwards, by so grave and austere a personage as the Earl Marshal, to be tutor to his sons in his own house. And in fact the passage, though somewhat carelessly worded, is to be understood in connexion with a fellow student of Cholmley's, whose evil companionship he only shook off on Petty's advice when he—Petty—was called to London.<sup>5</sup> In what

high esteem Petty was held by his patron is witnessed by a volume of letters addressed to him many years later by the Earl, and by his eldest son Lord Maltravers, now to be found in the British Museum.<sup>6</sup> In 1636 when the old Earl was confiding a second generation to Petty's charge in Florence, he writes 'for Henry,<sup>7</sup> the younge youth I sent unto you . . . I hope you will find him a very good boy, free from vice and most obedient unto you. I pray you show him all the arte that you can. I hope in time he will have a good guesse of originalles from Coppys . . .'

In 1624 we find Petty starting upon his travels in Greece; he had already been to Italy on a quest for antiquities.<sup>8</sup> On September 10, the Earl of Arundel writes to Sir Thomas Roe, then our ambassador at Constantinople, to recommend 'W<sup>m</sup> Petty who loves and understands antiquities, books, medals, and stones,' and 'desires to travel and see Turkey.'<sup>9</sup> In December we learn that Mr. Petty is arrived in Smyrna, and a month later he is daily expected in Constantinople. Michaelis,

this: My said tutor Petty was called from College to London to be tutor and master to the Earl of Arundel's sons in their father's house, and, at his departing from the College, turned over his pupils to one Mr. Slater, a Fellow of the said College. He gave me £30 in gold, saying "though I had a tutor to read to me, I was old enough to take care of myself, and order my own money and expences; and that he would henceforward look for a good account from myself both of my money and my deportment." Which speeches I pondered much in my thoughts upon my way back to Cambridge, concluding that my tutor was to be responsible to my father for my past actions, but myself for the future; which, I praise God, took such impression in me as from that time I quitted my drinking companions, and ever since grew antipathous to my nature . . . yet . . . wanting my old tutor to hold me to my studies, I did not follow them close here at Cambridge."—H. Cholmley, *Memoirs*, p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Add. MS. 15,970.

<sup>7</sup> No doubt the second son of Lord Mowbray and Maltravers, Henry, afterwards fifth duke of Norfolk, who, through John Evelyn, presented the Arundel Marbles to the University of Oxford.

<sup>8</sup> Roe's *Correspondence*, of which extracts are printed as an Appendix to the Introduction to Michaelis' *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 189.

<sup>9</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series.

<sup>1</sup> Dallaway, Walpole's *Anecdotes*, 293.

<sup>2</sup> Lansdowne MSS. 770, and Catalogue.

<sup>3</sup> The extract was kindly copied for me by Mr. Arthur Gray, of Jesus College, Cambridge, and is partly quoted in his book on the College, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> *Archeologia* ix. 182.

<sup>5</sup> The whole passage is as follows, and may be given in full, since it has so often been used to discredit an interesting figure. It is really valuable as evidence of his high character and good influence. 'When I came [to Jesus College] I was admitted in the rank of those called Fellow Commoners; and there being one who three years before had been sent from Beverley School by my said tutor [Petty], he recommended him to be my companion. He was, indeed, a good scholar and a witty man, but given to drinking, and so debauched us all, so that I had been utterly undone but for an intervening occasion which, though it proved prejudicial to my scholarship and learning, by God's great mercy, conduced to reclaim me from my debauchery and drinking; which was

in his admirable introduction to his *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, deals at length and with great insight with the relations between Roe and Petty, both engaged in the same search for classical remains, and both for the same patron, though Roe also served the Duke of Buckingham. At first the ambassador was warm in praise of the newcomer. And even later, when he may have felt somewhat envious of the success which attended Petty's efforts, he is always generous in his references. Michaelis has printed these extracts from Roe's correspondence in full, but a few passages may be used here to illustrate Petty's character as a digger, and to suggest the route he followed. His first business was to see what could be found in Constantinople itself; thence in the summer of 1625 he went to Pergamum, Samos, Ephesus, and 'some other places.' In March, 1626, he searched Athens, and thence he travelled through the islands again. In the course of his journeys, going by sea to Ephesus, he 'made shippwrack in a great storme upon the coast of Asia, and lost all the many things 'rare and ancient' he had collected. He was bereft also of his letters of credit, and was put in prison as a spy. Released upon the word of some Turks who knew him, he at once went back 'to the place where he had left his boat to fish for the marbles,' which, by great industry, he managed to recover. 'There was never a man so fitted to an employment,' writes Sir Thomas to Arundel, 'that encounters all accident with unwearied patience; eats with Greeks on their worst days; lies with fishermen on planks at the best; is all things to all men, that he may obtain his ends, which are your lordship's service.'<sup>1</sup> Again notes Roe, 'He makes search with his own eyes, and is not sparing to spend when he finds content . . . he spareth no pains nor arts to effect his services.' In November, 1626, poor Sir Thomas laments that he is tied to a residence almost as to a prison, while Mr. Petty is able to go himself into all the islands and 'hath raked together 200 pieces.' The marbles reached

Arundel House in 1627, and many of those of Petty's actual finding are probably among the Pomfret marbles in the Ashmolean Museum to-day.<sup>2</sup>

The next years of Petty's life appear to have been chiefly spent in Italy. The volume of MS. letters in the British Museum, to which reference has already been made, addressed to 'good Mr. Petty' by the Earl of Arundel and Lord Maltravers, are all dated between the years 1632 and 1638. In 1632 Petty was on his way to Zante, but it is desired that he should come home, as the parson at Greystoke is dead, and 'my lord intends to confer the living upon you.'<sup>3</sup> Apparently Petty did not obey the summons, for another man was appointed to the rectory in 1633.<sup>4</sup> But he died in a few months, and the offer being no doubt renewed, Petty probably returned to England just to be instituted. Under date July 30, 1633, the parish register records 'Mr. Will<sup>m</sup> Pettie, Batchelor of Divinitie, of Johns College of Cambridge, was induced Parson.' But in November of the same year there was 'Chris<sup>d</sup>. Thos. s. of W<sup>m</sup> Todhunter of Bowskale: the first childe that ever Mr. William Morland the substitute of Mr. William Pettie, the Parson of Graystock did baptise after his entrie.'<sup>5</sup> In August, 1634,<sup>6</sup> we find him again leaving for Italy—with £1,000 from the Earl Marshal in his hands. The letters of his patron are full of details of the various objects of Petty's search, statues, pictures, and particularly drawings by the old masters. He collected in Rome, Naples, Venice, and Florence. In February 1638, perhaps because he felt himself becoming too old to work alone, he invited John Greaves, afterwards Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, to accompany him in his travels in Italy, and thence to Athens, at a salary of £200 a year.<sup>7</sup> Greaves

<sup>2</sup> Michaelis, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> B. M. Add. MS. 15,970.

<sup>4</sup> Hutchinson's *Antiquities of Cumberland*, I. 408. Greystoke, near Penrith, was a parish in the Howard property.

<sup>5</sup> I owe these extracts from the Greystoke Registers to the kindness of the Rector, the Rev. A. M. Maclean.

<sup>6</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> Michaelis, p. 195.

went to the East in search of MSS. at this time, but not with Petty. In June of the same year, Arundel's last letter of the series is addressed to him at Turin, where he was apparently on his way home. He may have died on the journey, for there is no record of his burial at Greystoke, and the next incumbent, the William Morland who had acted as his substitute, was inducted into the Rectory in March, 1639. John Greaves may have been the means of bringing the MS. Notes on Digging to the Bodleian. Such a paper may well have been written in Petty's ripe experience to a younger scholar about to undertake a journey of research in Eastern Europe. Greaves resided in the University between 1643 and 1648, when he was ejected by the Parliamentary Visitors, and much of his library was dispersed. Selden rescued some of his books, and Bishop Tanner, buying manuscripts of every description in Oxford in the end of the century, may have gathered this one into its present place in his collection.

RACHAEL POOLE.

MS. Tanner 88. fol. 239 :—<sup>1</sup>

'The things to be sought for bee these followinge: Statues clothed and naked, but the naked ones are of greatest value; Heads of all sorts, that can be found. Marbles carved with halfe round figures w<sup>ch</sup> are called Basso Relevo; Pili of marble histored, the w<sup>ch</sup> are like trought of marble carved w<sup>th</sup> figures; Vazes, Altars, or pedestalls, with anie kinde of carving-worke on them, or if the vazes be plaine, they are to be esteemed. Likewise Beasts of all kinds for Tombes or Sepulchers; the most auncient are to be desired, for as for those donn in the latter times of the easterne Emperers, they are of smale value. Inscriptions of all sorts, and if a statue have an inscription on the pedestall or Bases, it is the more rare; or if a pedestall be standing w<sup>th</sup> anie inscription on it, and neere it by digging, a Statue chance to be found, it is of the like value. Besides all theis ther is to be provided manie great Blocks of

severall Grecian marbles, to mend and reaire the Statues and other things afore said.

'All things of Brass worke that can be found as Statues, Heads, peeces of Basso Relevo, and likewise all little figures in Brass, or Lampes, Vazes, Instruments for sacrifice, medalls, or whatsoever els can be gotten, if they be of mettle, are of great value.

'The places in Greece wher theis things are to be found are infinite, but reduced to the three general heads:

'First Pelloponessus round about neer the Sea coast wher anie auncient City hath beene, w<sup>ch</sup> will appeere by the ruines, and neer a port wher shippes may come, are to be searched; especially in Elijs wher was aunciently that famous Temple of Jove Olimpius, in honor of whome was celebrated the Olimpien games. Here wer an infinity of Statues both of bras and marble and other rarities dedicated, for besides that, all those that were victors in those games had their statues erected. All the common wealths principalities and famous Citties of Greece dedicated their choicests Statues, rarities and richest things, and to that purpose were manie treasuries built wher theis things were kept and shewed by the Guardians to all strangers that came; the Temple being filled, ther was a spacious place caled the Alti or sacred grove of Jupiter as full as the[y] could stand one by another; this place being found, the ruines will direct one wher to digg, and heere must needs be had an infinite number, and all good, nothing being dedicated in that place but the work of most excellent Masters. W<sup>th</sup>in the Land may manie things of theis kinds be had, but the conducting of them by cart and druggt wilbe more chargeable; as in Phocis a part of Achaia lying on the gulfes of Corinth now called Lepanto are the ruines of Appolloes Temple and Oracle of Delphus, in w<sup>ch</sup> was the works of old grecian Sculptors comparable both in number and excellency to that of the Olimpien Jove aforesaid. Likewise on thother side of the Isthmus as farr as Athens wher yet remaineth standing a great part of the temple of Pallas in w<sup>ch</sup> are manie excellent sculptures of

<sup>1</sup> A few marks of punctuation have been altered and added.



Basso Relevo and on the Sea shore are lying certeine Lyons of marble much bigger then the life.

'All alongst the coast of Asia neer the Sea, from Cnydus standing on the point of Dore, even as farr as Ilium must need yeeld abundance of Antiquities, ther remayninge the ruines of manie famous grecian Citties, as of Hallearnassus Heraclea Ephesus Colophon Smyrna, Traianopolis etc. and further into the land Pergamus, wher manie excellent things may be had, onlie the charge wilbe more, by carrying them to the Sea as aforesaid.

'In the Island Ciclades, now called Archipelago, are manie rare things to be found, for in some of them divers broken Statues have been seene lying above ground.

'The Island of Delos<sup>1</sup> was the mart of all Greece wher yet remaineth the ruines of Appollos Temple, neere unto which by digging manie Statues of the best auncient Schulptors may be had; and the like in Samose, Icaria, Patmos, Paros, Amorgos, etc. the particulars of w<sup>ch</sup>, shunning prolixity, I omit. As for those Islands ther belonging to the Venecians, as Zant, Sefalonia, Candy, etc. I doubt ther is little to be gotten in them, having been often searched.<sup>2</sup>

'The meanes to gett theis things are theis: ther must be a pass or safe conduct from the great Turke procured by the Ambassador at Constantinople,<sup>3</sup> authorising and securing the man employed in all the aforesaid places, to search digg up and transport

theis things only for curiosity; for the Turkes must not know that they are of anie value. He that is employed must allwaies weare poore apparrell, for by that meanes the Turks will imagine the things he seeks for to be of no great estimacon; he must have lres [letters] of recomendacons to the English consailles & merchants factors at every place wher he goeth, w<sup>th</sup> billes of exchange and lres [Letters] of Credite for the digging, carrying, or buying of the things aforesaid. He must never be without great store of tobacco and english knives to present the Turkes w<sup>th</sup>all, who are governors of places and other Officers w<sup>th</sup>whome he shall have to doe: forr theis smale presents together w<sup>th</sup> his shew of povertie will save him from manie troubles, w<sup>ch</sup> otherwise might happen. The men that he employes to digg he must pay by the daie, and if he meet w<sup>th</sup> anie Statues or Colossus too great to be carryed away whole, he must employ men to saw it asunder<sup>4</sup> w<sup>th</sup> iron sawes and sharpe sand. He must use a great ffearn w<sup>th</sup> tackles & pullies to load theis on druggs or carts; he must be very carefull to gather together all the smalest bitts & fragments that are found or digged up neere to anie Statue, and putt them up in boxes w<sup>ch</sup> he must give to the masters of the shippes to be safelie delivered here; he must provide magazens or storehouses in the Port townes w<sup>ch</sup> lie most convenient for his purpose wher the things are to be kept untill they be transported, the best things being putt in cases of bourds and thother in the Ballace. He must take heed not to load theis in anie Shipp wher Butts of oyle<sup>5</sup> ly on the topp of them, for manie things have beene spoyled by that meanes; he must send home billes of Lading expressing

<sup>1</sup> It is stated by Peacham (*Compleat Gentleman—Of Antiquities*) that the royal collections included altars and other marbles from the ruins of a temple of Apollo at Delos, brought by Sir Kenelm Digby. But the temper of his account contrasts strongly with Petty's keen enthusiasm. 'His vessel came,' says Digby (*Journal of a Voyage in the Mediterranean in 1628*, Camden Society, 1868), 'to Delphos, (*sic*) a desert island, where staying till the rest [of the ships] were ready, because idleness should not fix their minds upon untoward fancies (as is usual among seamen) and together to avail myself of the conveniencies of carrying away some antiquities there, I busied them in rolling of stones down to the sea-side, which they did with eagerness' (p. 57).

<sup>2</sup> Petty himself had searched the islands twice or three times.

<sup>3</sup> See Roe's *Letters in Michaelis*, p. 193, 4, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Michaelis quotes p. 23, n. 34, from *Les Voyages du Sieur Du Loir*, p. 8. In 1639 the French Ambassador saw in Delos a statue of Apollo 'que les Anglais ont sciée en deux, de haut en bas, pour en emporter une partie.'

<sup>5</sup> The Earl of Arundel writes to Petty in 1636 concerning a Neapolitan collection, 'how well it proved in the judgment of us all, though what a greates danger it escaped in the shippement, cases of silke that lay close by it being wholly spoyled with oyle that ranne upon them.'

—B. M. Add. MS. 15970.

every thing that he sendeth<sup>with</sup> the name of the master of the Shipp; he must as often as he can send lres [letters] of what things he hath

gathered and what he hath sent and of all other occurrants belonging to this business.' (Endorsed in another hand—*Statua's and antiquities.*)

WAS THE FOURTH ECLOGUE WRITTEN TO CELEBRATE THE  
MARRIAGE OF OCTAVIA TO MARK ANTONY?—  
A LITERARY PARALLEL.

What is this  
That rises like the issue of a king  
And wears upon his baby-brow the round  
And top of sovereignty?

THE following notes are submitted in support of a theory which seems to have been unduly neglected. The 'occasion' of the poem is, after all, a mere detail; but it is a detail of some importance; for if an agreement could be reached upon this point, the mind of the reader would be set free to appreciate more fully the larger questions so admirably dealt with in *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*—a book for which, in common with many other lovers of Virgil, the present writer feels profoundly grateful.

And yet the authors hardly give Catullus his due. There can, of course, be no doubt that Virgil in his early period was strongly influenced by Catullus; and nowhere more so than here. If, however, this Eclogue can fairly be regarded as akin to an Epithalamion, a 'sequela' to the *Song of the Fates* in Catullus, we must, it would seem, go on to draw the inferences which are drawn below. And it is strange how well the key fits the wards of the lock, and how old familiar difficulties yield, one after another, to its gentle pressure. At the very least, the poem gains considerably by being studied in connexion with its prototype. In an Anthology the two should be set side by side.

I. The hypothesis has this initial advantage. It answers, once for all, the urgent question—why Pollio should have been singled out for the striking compliment of the strongly-worded dedication (lines 11-14), in which line 11 is, from my point of view, less important than line 13. The phrase 'Te consule' fixes the date; the phrase 'Te duce' assigns the credit. For the

marriage of Octavia sealed the compact of Brundisium; and it was Pollio who, in conjunction with Maecenas, negotiated that treaty,—a treaty which was regarded at the time as a permanent settlement, and on which the highest hopes were accordingly founded.

But Pollio was also a friend of Mark Antony, the bridegroom, and he was one of the consuls for the year. In this triple character of consul, plenipotentiary, and friend, he may therefore be said to have stood in a somewhat special and intimate relation to the child, or the parents of the child; and, viewed in this light, the dedication is seen to be both natural and appropriate.

II. On this hypothesis the date of the poem will be the date of the festivities at Rome with which the peace of Brundisium was celebrated.

The feeling uppermost in men's minds at the time—the feeling which the poet was called upon to interpret—was one of joy at the union by which the two great factions had been brought together, and hope that a child would be born of that union, to be at once an embodiment of the alliance and a pledge of lasting concord. The Eclogue is a poet's rhapsody, not a historical document. Take a modern parallel,—the knitting up of Yorkists and Lancastrians in the marriage of Richmond and Elizabeth, at the beginning of a new era, after a similar period of civil war in England. Shakespeare touches the theme rather lightly, but he, too, expresses in effect much the same hopes as Virgil:

We will unite the white rose and the red :—  
Smile, heaven, upon this fair conjunction,  
That long hath frown'd upon their enmity!—  
O, now, let Richmond and Elizabeth,  
The true successors of each royal house,  
By God's fair ordinance conjoin together!

And let their heirs (God, if Thy will be so)  
 Enrich the time to come with smooth-faced  
 peace,  
 With smiling plenty, and fair prosperous  
 days!

It would surely be a mistake to dissent from the theory on the ground that Octavia was already a (mother and a) widow. So was Violentilla, for whose second marriage Statius wrote the beautiful Epithalamion referred to below. Virgil's theme was not a love story, but a political alliance. The romance was to be sought, not in the parents, but in the child, and the unity and the hope which the child was to symbolise.

III. The Eclogue bears so strong a resemblance to the *Song of the Fates* at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, in Catullus LXIV., that we are driven to assume a close and even vital connexion between the two poems. So far as I am aware the full significance of this connexion has never been properly appreciated. There is certainly no hint of what appears to be the truth of the matter either in Page or in Conington.

IV. The Eclogue is prophetic. Catullus had put his Epithalamion on the lips of the Fates, and had introduced it with a special solemnity—'veridicum oraculum (326); veridicos Parcae coeperunt edere cantus (306).' In tone and versification (and it might be added also in length) the resemblance is very marked. And at the conclusion of the Epithalamion there follows an Epilogue in the same strain as the song, bemoaning the iniquity of the present, and regretting the 'auspicious time' (22), in which the gods mixed freely with men. Compare, for instance, lines 15-18 of the Eclogue, with lines 384-6 of the *Peleus and Thetis*; Virgil's

Ille deum vitam accipiet divisque videbit  
 Permixtos heroas et ipse videbitur illis

is his answer to Catullus'

Praesentes namque ante domos invisere castas  
 Heroum et sese mortali ostendere coetu  
 Caelicolae nondum sprete pietate solebant.

The child of the future is to revive the golden age of the past:

Old writers push'd the happy season back,—  
 The more fools they,—we forward.

Only fourteen years intervened between the appearance of the two poems. The *Peleus and Thetis* was finished in 54 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The Eclogue belongs to the year 40. We shall hardly be going too far if we say that the later poem was expressly meant to be read as a sequel to the earlier one—a reply as explicit, if we may borrow an illustration from English literature, as Raleigh's reply to Marlowe's *Passionate Shepherd*. The optimism of the Eclogue is intended to correct or to supersede the pessimism of Catullus.<sup>2</sup> Catullus closes with regrets for the lost age of gold and the departure of Astraea, the Virgo Iustitia, from the world;

Iustitiamque omnes tota de mente fugarunt.

Virgil opens with the announcement of Astraea's return, and preaches a Saturnian Revival:

Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.

There may also be special point in the suggestion which immediately follows, that Apollo and Diana-Lucina, who alone of the Immortals did not come to the wedding-feast of Peleus and Thetis, will both be present to bless the Roman child at its birth.

V. Virgil, by adopting, or rather adapting, the refrain of Catullus, acknowledges his debt, and draws attention to the resemblance.

VI. This acknowledgment invites, and is meant to invite, a closer comparison. It is tantamount to calling Antony, the bridegroom, a second Peleus; and it invests Octavia, the bride, with the divine attributes of Thetis. This closer comparison also explains and enriches the meaning of the vexed phrase in line 49, 'magnum Iovis incrementum,' by recalling the legend of Jupiter's passion for Thetis, and the omnipotence which had been

<sup>1</sup> See Munro, *Lucretius*, iii. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Virgil, I take it, wishes the reader to picture to himself at least the Epilogue of Catullus LXIV. as the background of his song. Thus we have a suggestion that the worst has been reached—and passed:

'The night is darkest before the morn;  
 When the pain is fiercest the child is born;  
 And the day of the Lord is at hand.'

foretold for the offspring of their union.<sup>1</sup> The lustre of this prophecy must necessarily be reflected on any son born of such a mother, and on the child of the second Thetis (Octavia) no less than on the child of the first.

VII. Incidentally the (otherwise) rather perplexing and conventional allusion to the Argo<sup>2</sup> gains immediate point, for Peleus was an Argonaut; while the last line of the poem—the diction of which recalls the close of the *Peleus and Thetis*,

Quare nec talis dignantur visere coetus,  
Nec se contingi patiuntur lumine claro—

is also a distinct reference to Peleus (Simpson, *ad loc.*).

All that Virgil means to say is, 'If you do not smile on your mother, you will never be the man your father was.' He says this allusively, *more suo*; but that this is his meaning there can be no doubt, when once it is recognised that the parents are—'Peleus and Thetis.'

αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς ἐστί θεᾶς γόνος, ἦν  
ἐγὼ αὐτῇ  
θρέψα τε καὶ ἀτίτηλα καὶ ἀνδρὶ  
πόρον παράκοιτιν  
Πηλεῖ, δς περὶ κῆρι φίλος γέενε'  
ἀθανάτοισι,  
πάντες δ' ἀντιάσθε θεοὶ γάμου  
κ.τ.λ.

(*Iliad*, XXIV. 61 sqq. Cited by Ellis in his *Commentary*, p. 225.)

VIII. The burden of the Epithalamion is the greatness of the unborn Achilles. The burden of the Eclogue is the greatness of the unborn child. But whereas the first Achilles was to be pre-eminent in war, this second Achilles is to be pre-eminent in peace. Achilles drew his greatness from Thetis. Boys tend to resemble the mother more than the father. The expression '*patriis*'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is a temptation to see in the words a reference to the tradition referred to by Ellis in his commentary (LXIV. 27). An Alexandrian might well have played with this idea. But the style of the Eclogue is altogether too simple. See rather the *Messianic Eclogue*, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> Eclogue IV. 34 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Patriis* might conceivably mean simply *i.g. Romanis*; Horace, *Carm.* ii. 7. 4, 'Dis patriis Italoque caelo.' In Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 332 (*q.v.*), the critics disagree—*e.g.*, Mackail renders 'ancestral,' Conington 'his father's altars.' Possibly Virgil intentionally chose an am-

virtutibus' undoubtedly presents some difficulty. But authority is not wholly lacking to justify us in understanding the adjective to mean 'inherited' in the most general sense. This rendering would claim for the child the endowments not only of his father, but also of his mother,<sup>4</sup> and of his mother's house. In the earlier poem, however, it is Peleus who is introduced by the Parcae with the words,

O decus eximium *magnis virtutibus* augens;  
and honour was due to Mark Antony and his following as well as to Octavia. It would have argued an amazing want of tact in Virgil not to express or imply on such an occasion some appreciation of a man whom even Cicero in the Second Philippic admits to have possessed magnificent fighting qualities, which, if a poet's well-timed compliments could help, Virgil might reasonably seek to press into the service of the new régime. Cf. Agrippa's tribute to Antony in the play:—

A rarer spirit never  
Did steer humanity: but you, gods, will give  
us  
Some faults to make us men.

IX. On the subject and occasion of a wedding the ancients were remarkably frank. They showed even less reserve than the Church of England Marriage Service or the Eugenic Society; witness the 'Fescennina locutio' in Catullus LXI.; and in particular lines 216 sqq., 'Torquatus volo parvulus,' etc. Do the four last lines of the Eclogue overstep the limits prescribed by the 'convenances' of a Roman wedding? Are they bolder than the apostrophe in Statius' Epithalamion? Cf. *Silvae*, I. 2. 266 sqq.:

Eia age praeclaros Latio properate nepotes,  
Qui leges qui castra regant, qui carmina ludant,

biguous word. Anyone who has ever drafted a document in which the views of two opposing parties had to be embodied will know how strong is the temptation to clutch at a word or phrase of more than single meaning on which each faction can put its own (quite distinct and different) interpretation.

<sup>4</sup> It is important for my argument to note that the only 'capital' MS. which contains this section of the Eclogue, the *Codex Romanus* (assigned tentatively by Nettleship, *C.P.L.*, Praefatio, to the fourth century A.D.), reads *parentum* (not *parentis*) at line 26.



Acceleret partu decimum bona Cynthia  
 mensum  
*Sed parcat Lucina precor. Tuque ipse parenti  
 Parce, puer, etc.?*

where lines 269-270 are a distinct echo of this Eclogue, and are not without their bearing on the problem of the last four lines.

In his character of prophet—the character of the ‘weird sisters’ in the *Peleus and Thetis*—Virgil projects himself into the future, and sees in his mind’s eye the hoped-for child already born and lying in his mother’s lap;<sup>1</sup> the lines form the climax and conclusion of his *ὀρθομαντείας πόνος*. They are meant to leave impressed on the mind of the reader the thought of the ‘*pueritia saeculi*,’

Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo.

The world, too, is ‘making a fresh start.’ The time is to be a time of freshness, of promise and of hope. Catullus opens with a reference to the child,

O decus eximium magnis virtutibus augens,  
 Emathiae tutamen opis, *clarissime nato*, etc.;

while Euripides, in a chorus of the *Iphigenia Aulidensis*, with which the *Peleus and Thetis* shows some acquaintance, makes Chiron—the prophetic character corresponding to the ‘*sacer vates*’ of the Eclogue—apostrophise

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Cassandra in the *Agamemnon*, and similarly the witches in *Macbeth* (IV. 1 imit.), express the future in terms of the present: Macbeth sees the children who are to be born hereafter pass before him. Virgil elaborated this device more fully in the vision of Aeneas in Elysium (*Aeneid*, VI.) Gray employs it in *The Bard*. N.B.—In ‘*nascenti puero*’ the participle is a Praesens Futurascens. The phrase = ‘to the child who is to be born.’ Cf. *Aen.* x. 27 (and 74), *Muris iterum imminet hostis* (*Nascentis Troiae* = this *embryo* Troy). The perfect ‘*tulerunt*’ in line 61 is, it must be admitted, extremely bold, but scarcely bolder than the *reliquit* of *G.* i. 35, and assuredly not bolder than the metrical license, which can only be justified as a homely touch meant to be in keeping with the homely scene described. The material for a generalisation on this latter point is collected and reviewed by Munro on Lucretius (i. 406). ‘It must always’ (he says) ‘have been a familiar pronunciation.’ To his list of instances add Horace’s ‘*dedērunt*’ (*Epistles*, I. iv. 7) and ‘*vertērunt*’ (*Epode* IX. 17). ‘*Fuerunt*’ in Lucretius (*e.g.* v. 474 and 667) may fairly be regarded as a disyllable. All the other examples belong apparently to the *sermo cottidianus*.

the bride at the marriage-feast with outspoken promise of a son—

μέγα δ' ἀνέκλαγεν, ὦ Νηρηϊ κόρα,  
 παῖδα Θεσσάλοις μέγα φῶς,  
 μάντις ὁ Φοιβάδα Μοῦσαν  
 εἰδώς, Γεννάσεις,  
 Χείρων ἐξονομάζων.

(*Iph. Aul.* 1062 sqq., Paley.)

X. Whether the marriage in question ever yielded a child of a character to bear out the prophecy is, after all, quite immaterial. A Laureate must take risks. And if the poem was published on the occasion of the wedding and *not later*, we have, at any rate, the best of good reasons why it could not afterwards be suppressed. Virgil’s own command did not suffice to effect the suppression of the *Aeneid*. The world had been put in possession of the work at once, and was not likely willingly to let die so fair a prophecy of a golden age, even though the golden lad may never have seen the light at all.

XI. It has been noticed above that the two Songs are of exactly the same length—*i.e.*, sixty lines each; for (a) the first three lines of the Eclogue are not an integral part of the piece; and (b) there can be no doubt that a line has been lost in the Catullus after verse 354.<sup>2</sup> Further—and this is more remarkable—each is symmetrically constructed, in the Alexandrian manner, on a somewhat elaborate but perfectly clear and definite scheme. The two schemes differ, it is true. The plan of the Catullian song is given by Prof. Ellis in his *Catulli Veronensis Liber* (p. 260). Briefly summarised his view is this. We have first a Prologue of five lines addressed to Peleus alone; then two strophes of Introduction (of six lines and four); then the body of the song (five stanzas of five lines each); then two anti-strophes (of four lines and six); and, finally, an Epilogue (of ten lines) addressed to Peleus and Thetis together: ‘*Nec deest causa geminationis. Nam in principio de Peleo uno sermo est; in fine de Peleo et Thetide. Ex uno duo.*’

The scheme of the Eclogue, which is not dissimilar, may be set out thus:

<sup>2</sup> See Ellis, *ad loc.*

A<sup>1</sup>, *Prologue* (four lines, 4-7), announcing the new era.

B<sup>1</sup>, *Introduction* (ten lines, 8-17), in four stanzas (3. 2. 2. 3); stanza 1, Invocation of Diana-Lucina to add her help to that of Apollo; stanzas 2 and 3, Dedication to Pollio, first as consul ('te consule'), second as inaugurator of the event ('te duce'); stanza 4, Declaration of a second golden age under the rule of the expected child.

C<sup>1</sup>, D, C<sup>2</sup>, the body of the poem; the prophecy in detail. This portion falls into three sections, viz.:

C<sup>1</sup> (thirteen lines, 18-30), the boyhood of the child, 'At tibi prima, puer,' etc.

C<sup>2</sup> (thirteen lines, 37-49), the manhood of the child, 'Hinc ubi iam firmata virum,' etc.

D—Between these two sections are interposed two stanzas, each of three lines, D<sup>1</sup>, 31-33, D<sup>2</sup>, 34-36, forming a 'mesode.'

D<sup>1</sup> indicates a need, D<sup>2</sup> promises provision for the need. The last word in D<sup>2</sup>—Achilles—may be said to 'name the child'; it is repeated and enforced in a stately periphrasis at the end of E—'Magnum Iovis incrementum.' After this line there is an appreciable pause. Then with the word 'Aspice' the poet turns to address the 'ideal spectator.'

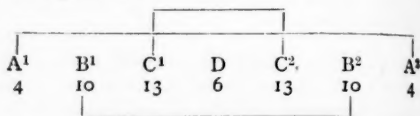
B<sup>2</sup>, *Conclusion* (ten lines, 50-59), cast in four stanzas (3. 2. 3. 2), answering to B<sup>1</sup>; stanza 1 expresses the joy of the Universe at the new King's advent; stanzas 2 and 3 the prayer of the poet that he may live to see the promised age: 'If he does, neither Minstrel of the Argo nor child of the gods shall outdo his raptures of song.' Stanza 4, 'Even the god of pastoral poetry will be declared by his own subjects to be outsung, if he courts a contest.'

A<sup>2</sup>, *Epilogue* (four lines, 59-63), answering to the Prologue; A<sup>1</sup> ushers in the new Age, A<sup>2</sup> the boy-prince of the new Age. The splendour of the prophecy dies away in the music of a diminuendo: 'And a little child shall lead them.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As often in Greek and Latin poetry, cf., e.g., the close of the *Antigone*, and of Horace, *Carm.* III. 5. See *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> 'Les arts sont frères.' The Sherborne Pageant ended on this note. And no one who

The scheme of the poem may be seen at a glance, thus:



Obs. The key to the inner meaning—the allusion to the Argo—lies at the very heart of the poem in the 'Mesode' (D), which begins and ends with lines emphatically suggestive of Catullus. Cf. Virgil's 'Pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis' with Catullus' 'Extenuata gerens veteris vestigia poenae'; and Virgil's 'Atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles' with Catullus' 'Nascetur vobis expers terroris Achilles.' These resemblances are too close to be accidental.

Now all, or much, of this may seem to be obvious: but the scheme is certainly not observed as it should be in the paragraphing of the standard editions. And it helps so much to a proper appreciation of the whole, that it seems well worth setting down in detail here. We cannot be wrong in recognising in so elaborate a device<sup>3</sup> the influence of Catullus in his Alexandrian mood. And if the recognition tends to confirm the hypothesis that the Eclogue is a pendant to the *Song of the Fates*, it may tend also to advance the belief that the new *Peleus and Thetis* were Antony and Octavia. It would have been no compliment to Octavian to make him play *Peleus* to Scribonia's *Thetis*.

XII. One other point. In assuming

was there or who has heard the scene described will ever forget the effect with which the little child was introduced as a finale.

<sup>3</sup> The above is only an outline. The correspondences might easily be worked out further. Thus C<sup>1</sup> and C<sup>2</sup> fall also into four stanzas each, but not, apparently, into stanzas of an equal length: C<sup>1</sup> = 3. 2. 3. 5., C<sup>2</sup> = 3. 2. 4. 4., i.e. 3. 2. 8. and 3. 2. 8. The transposition of (e.g.) line 30 to follow line 25 would give us 3. 2. 4. 4. in each. But such absolute precision is by no means essential. See Ellis, *loc. cit.* Most of the Eclogues are built up about similar though simpler schemes. Cf. especially numbers VII.-X. The Second would gain appreciably if the first five lines and the last were regarded as Prologue and Epilogue respectively. The 'song' proper stops at line 68, 'Quis enim modus adsit amor?' In 69-73 Virgil points the moral. Cf. Theocritus X. 56-58 rather than XI. 72 *sqq.*

that the poem has an inner meaning, we are doing no violence to literary probability. It was Virgil's custom to 'imply things.' The assumption merely gives us an early instance of his later manner. It is agreed that the *Aeneid* is in a sense an 'allegory.'

The 'pius Aeneas'—the embodiment of the national 'pietas' or patriotism—is, of course, Augustus.<sup>1</sup> Troy stands for the old Republic. The 'appointed city'—which it is the mission of Aeneas to found, and the foundation of which only comes within the sphere of practical politics at the very end of the poem on the overthrow and death of Turnus-Antonius—must, I take it, be the new régime inaugurated by Augustus. Thus much is certain; and though we can never hope to gather up all the threads of allusion and suggestion which were dropped beyond recovery when Virgil died at Brundisium leaving the poem unfinished, we can nevertheless see clearly enough that many of the char-

acters have their prototypes in history.<sup>2</sup> But a great deal is left to the imagination of the reader. Nor do we find, or expect to find, a precise and detailed correspondence with fact. Sometimes, too, as Prof. Mackail has pointed out,<sup>3</sup> Virgil's poetical feeling gets the better of his political purpose. Thus in the original plan of the poem Dido stood no doubt for Cleopatra. But the human element in the theme took possession of the poet's imagination, and led him whither he would not, so that sympathy with Aeneas and his mission is swallowed up in pity for Dido's fate. A like impulse was at work here in the composition of the Eclogue, and compelled Virgil to dwell on the future to the exclusion of the present. His sense of proportion was dulled or lost. The parents of the child are not in the picture. The child himself—the new Achilles whose birth would mean so much for the Roman world—dominates the scene.

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<sup>1</sup> In the *Sixth Aeneid* Augustus is hailed in so many words as 'the promised deliverer of Rome': 'Hic vir hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,' etc. Perhaps some such title as 'ὁ ἐπρόμηνος' occurred in the Sibylline Books.

<sup>2</sup> See *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, p. 48 note.

<sup>3</sup> In an address to the Classical Society of the University College, Cardiff, published in his *Lectures on Poetry*.

## O MATRE PULCHRA FILIA PULCHRIOR.

JUST how much reality lies behind Horace's heroines we shall probably never know. Those readers who want the poet of love to be a real lover will always prefer to think of his sweethearts as real women; whereas they who have formed an ideal of Horace as a perfect Victorian gentleman will perforce think of Glycera, Leuconoe, Myrtale, and the rest as merely so many musical names. In a few cases, however, the pseudonyms cannot hide the very real women behind them. We scarcely needed the scholiast's assurance that the Licymnia of the twelfth Ode of the Second Book is Maecenas' new wife, Terentia. For a very different reason it is impossible to doubt the reality of the notorious Canidia of the Epodes and Satires. Such persistent abuse, such detailed charges, combined with such trivial, not to say prosaic,

insults cannot be traced to the poet's unaided fancy.

One of the poems which has seemed to many critics to have a basis in fact is the sixteenth Ode of the First Book, the famous palinode beginning:

O matre pulchra filia pulchrior,  
quem criminosus cumque voles modum  
pones iambis, sive flamma  
sive mari libet Hadriano.

The very fact that Horace suppresses the name of the woman he had lampooned is suggestive of reality (Kiessling), and the word *iambis* reads like a cross reference to the Epodes. There are besides two ancient traditions as to the identity of the woman or women concerned.

The so-called Commentator Cruquianus says: Cantat palinodiam—i.e., cantando revocat scripserat iratus in amicam Gratidiam. Now Gratidia,

the ancient commentators tell us, was the real name of Canidia, and, as Wickham says, 'if the *criminosi iambi* here recanted are to be looked for among Horace's extant poems, they can hardly be other than his attacks on Canidia in Epodes 5 and 17.' But the difficulties in the way of supposing that this palinode was really addressed to Canidia are insuperable. When you have held a woman up to scorn as the mistress of sailors and hucksters, a necromancer of the potter's field, and a murderer of children, and then have burned your bridges behind you by ironically offering to perjure yourself and say, 'Your heart is full of hospitality, your hands are clean'—after all this you cannot lightly ask her to destroy the offensive poems and be friends again. The indications are equally strong that Horace in the days of his prosperous maturity could not have wanted to renew this sordid acquaintance of his youth. Even at the time of the Epodes and Satires Canidia was old enough, so that there was point in altering her name from *Gratidia* to *Canidia*—from *Grace* to *Gray*. In the fifth Epode the boyish victim of the hideous sacrifice calls her and her assistants old women. Perhaps the most unpardonable insult of all was the tale (*Sat.* i 8. 46 ff.) of how, when she fled in terror at the rudeness of the great god Priapus, she left her teeth behind. Now that Horace has lived long enough to outgrow his youthful anger, can we suppose that Canidia has become more attractive?

In fact there are clear indications in the palinode itself that it is addressed to a young girl. 'I too,' says the poet, 'felt the power of hot blood in sweet youth.' The girl, then, is even now in her sweet youth, and it is the vivid realisation of that fact rather than any recollection of his own that leads Horace to call youth 'sweet' just here. The opening line, too, 'Daughter fairer than thy mother fair,' could scarcely be addressed to anyone but a young girl.

But it is not necessary to follow most modern editors in dismissing the whole tradition as the idle guess of some early commentator. As a matter of fact, the

scholiast does not say that the ode is addressed to Canidia, but merely that the poet here recants his angry attack upon her. We may identify Canidia with the 'fair mother' mentioned in the first line, and understand that Horace is now wooing her 'fairer daughter.' On this interpretation of the poem our former difficulties vanish. The daughter, to be sure, is loyal enough to resent the insults once heaped upon the mother, but we may be certain that Horace, the famous poet, the successful man of the world, the honoured friend of Maecenas and Augustus, will easily convince her of his repentance. And since the girl is young and fair, Horace can well afford to forget the offences of Canidia, no matter how serious they may have been.

The half-flippant exaggeration of the ode—'You may burn them if you like, or quench them in mid-Atlantic,' 'My anger was as unreasoning as religious ecstasy, as disastrous as the passions of Pelops' line'—such talk as this has led some critics to think that Horace is not really in earnest. The point seems well taken if he is addressing the same woman he has injured; for a deadly insult cannot be healed by a mock-serious banter. But the case is far different if the girl's anger was purely vicarious: a playful tone would probably be more effective with her than a sober confession of error and a request for pardon.

There is, however, one difficulty with this interpretation which at first glance seems fatal. The last three lines of the ironical recantation in the seventeenth Epode clearly imply the assertion that Canidia never had a child; and if so our palinode cannot be addressed to her daughter. But the point which Horace is there really trying to make is that a certain Pactumeius is not her son. Quite possibly his exclamation, 'You never had a child,' is the hyperbole common to anger.<sup>1</sup> At any rate it is clear that Canidia claimed to be the mother of Pactumeius, and we need only assume

<sup>1</sup> The stress which Horace lays upon this point arouses the suspicion that Canidia had called Pactumeius Horace's son as well as her own.



that she claimed a daughter too. For Horace is no longer in a mood to dispute her claims: if the girl cares to be called Canidia's daughter, he can easily indulge the whim.

There is one other ancient tradition about the identity of the heroine of the sixteenth ode. Porphyrio says: 'Hac ode παλινωδίαν repromittit ei in quam probrosum carmen scripserat Tyndaridi amicae suae.' That is, the unnamed girl to whom the palinode is addressed is identified with Tyndaris, who in the following ode is invited to visit the poet at his Sabine farm. Modern editors usually ignore this identification altogether or dismiss it summarily. Wickham thinks it worth refuting as follows: 'For the . . . view which identifies the unknown object of this palinode with the Tyndaris of the following ode, there seems to be no external argument. There was the temptation to connect the two odes, to make the invitation of that the complement of the reconciliation in this; and the connection of the name of Helen on the one side with the name of Tyndaris, and on the other with the original "palinode," would easily suggest to ingenious scholiasts the desired link.'

But it is at least equally reasonable to find two external arguments for Porphyrio's identification in the subtleness of the name Tyndaris for the heroine of a palinode and the dramatic effectiveness of following up the reconciliation of 16 with the invitation of 17.

A third argument is furnished by the fact that the two poems are in the same metre. Wickham himself (p. 29 of the third edition) has pointed out 'the care with which Horace avoids the juxtaposition of two odes of the same metre.' 'In the great instance to the contrary' (3. 1-6), Wickham continues, 'the obvious purpose gives the greater significance to his usual practice.' Now, as a matter of fact, there are, aside from the first six odes of the Third Book, only eight exceptions to Horace's rule of variety in the metre of the odes, and for six of these the reasons are still apparent.

A close parallel to the opening odes of the Third Book is presented by the fourteenth and fifteenth of the Fourth

Book, on Augustus the triumphant conqueror and Augustus the restorer of peace respectively. Each is the necessary complement of the other. Their connection is so close that Porphyrio thought they constituted a single ode.

In Odes 24 and 25 of the Third Book Horace has once more violated not only his customary metrical variety but also his usual practice of placing political odes at some distance from each other. The two poems are wide apart in content and feeling. The twenty-fourth is the most pessimistic of all Horace's poems on the luxury and degeneracy of the day, excepting only the sixteenth epode. In the twenty-fifth the poet tells with dithyrambic fervour how he was inspired to sing the praises of Augustus. It was placed here to serve as a corrective to the rather overdrawn gloominess of 24. Lines 25 ff. of the earlier poem called particularly for some modification. 'Whoso will end the murder and the madness of civil strife, if any man aspire to the title *Pater Urbium*, let him dare to draw the rein upon our untamed excesses.' At the time when the ode was published these words might easily have been interpreted as a complaint that Augustus's reform measures were half-hearted, timorous, or inefficient. So as not to leave that impression, Horace follows the ode with the rapturous praise of 25.

Kiessling held that 1. 34, on the thunder-clap in a clear sky, was placed immediately before the hymn to Fortune in order to put the reader in a proper frame of mind for that ode. Perhaps we should rather say that the reference to Fortune in the last stanza of 34 led the poet to place the hymn next in order. At any rate the connection of the two pieces is clear enough.

As twelve of the twenty odes in the Second Book are in the Alcaic stanza, it was impossible for the poet to separate all of them by poems in other metres. But he did his best. He started with an Alcaic ode and assigned all the odd-numbered places to that meter. Number 14 was given its place because of its connection in subject-matter with 13 and 15. Number 13,

on the unexpectedness and suddenness of death, is followed by 14, on the inevitableness of death. The last stanza of 14 refers to the growing luxury of the day, and that is the theme of 15. The twentieth ode, as has often been remarked, was especially suitable for the last place in the book; and so the juxtaposition of the two Alcaic odes at that point could not easily be avoided.

The seventh pair of successive odes composed in the same metre is 1. 26-27. No connection between them can be detected. Perhaps the tantalising phrase 'Opuntiae frater Megillae' in 27 hides some allusion to Aelius Lamia, to whom 26 is addressed.

It seems safe, then, to assert that Horace did not place next each other two odes of the same metre unless he had some special motive for doing so. No such motive is apparent for putting the Tyndaris ode immediately after the

palinode unless this too is addressed to her. Such an argument would not be conclusive if it stood by itself, but it furnishes an important item of circumstantial evidence in confirmation of Porphyrio's explicit testimony.

Canidia, then, is the mother whom Horace attacked in his youth, and Tyndaris is the daughter whose beauty and talents have captured the fancy of his later years. The poet follows up his recantation by asking Tyndaris to visit him in the country, where she can sing the loves of Ulysses unmolested by the rude attentions of Cyrus, that jealous, drunken boor.

Canidia never got the revenge which Horace made her prophesy in the seventeenth epode; but, in the person of her daughter, she got a very satisfactory revenge after all.

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## NOTES

### A NOTE ON ΣΑΡΚΙΖΕΙΝ.

IN Herodotus IV. 64 on 'scalping in Scythia' we read: ἀποδείρει δὲ αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν κεφαλὴν) τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ περι-  
ταμὼν κύκλῳ περὶ τὰ ὦτα καὶ λαβόμενος  
τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκσεΐει, μετὰ δὲ σαρκίσας  
βοὸς πλευρῇ δένει τῇσι χερσὶ, ὀργάσας  
δὲ αὐτὸ ἅτε χειρόμακτρον ἐκτεταται. The  
context makes the meaning of *σαρκίσας*  
perfectly clear: 'he scrapes the scalp  
clean of flesh' (Rawlinson); cf. Pollux  
II. 233, Ἡρόδοτος δὲ *σαρκίσει* (φησὶ) τὸ  
τοῦ δέρματος τὴν σάρκα ἀφελεῖν. Other  
languages, ancient and modern, afford  
some interesting parallels; Nöldeke  
(*Glotta* III. 279) supporting Skutsch's  
derivation of *populari* from *populus*, 'to  
deprive a land of its people,' refers to  
Semitic analogies as well as the Ger-  
man 'schälen,' 'sich häuten,' 'köpfen,'  
and Eng. 'to head'='behead.' In a  
recently published work on Semitic  
philology he brings such phenomena  
under the general principle that 'occu-  
pation with an object may include the  
removal of that object,' and so a

denominative verb sometimes acquires  
a privative significance implying the  
loss of the very thing denoted by the  
noun to which it owes its existence.

The English language supplies many  
instances of this. We may divide our  
denominative verbs into at least three  
classes: (1) 'to supply with x,' e.g. 'to  
feather one's nest'; (2) 'to affect or  
touch with x' or 'to affect x,' e.g. 'to  
thumb,' 'he shinned him' (we may here  
include such expressions as 'to hand  
her into a carriage,' 'to hand him a  
book,' i.e. 'to convey with the hand');  
(3) 'to deprive of x,' e.g. 'to fleece.'  
Under (1) may be adduced 'to barb,  
powder, arm, rib, foot, and eye' (in  
'sharp-eyed'); (2) 'to finger, toe, face.'  
*σαρκάζειν* Aristoph. *Pax* 482 perhaps  
belongs here, 'to touch the flesh,' or it  
= *σαρκίζειν*; *σαρκῶν* is a clear instance  
of (1); in (3) we have 'to bone, bark  
(a tree, shin), skin, wing, peel, shell.'  
Sometimes the same verb comes under  
(1) and (3): cf. 'he winged his bird,'  
'vengeance winged his shaft,' 'to wing  
an arrow with eagle's feathers'; 'to

eye' does double duty under (1) and (2). We have a good Latin example of (1) and (3) in *pilare*, 'pilat, pilos habere incipit, alias pro detrahit pilos' *Paul. ex Fest.*; 'corpus meum nunc pilare primum coepit' *Afran.* 39. 27. *Plumare* does not seem to have been employed in classical Latin in the sense of *deplumare*, but such a use in Latin may perhaps be inferred from the derivatives, Welsh *pluo* ('to take feathers off'), Fr. *plumer*, as in 'plumer la poule sans la faire crier,' and sometimes Eng. 'to plume.'

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### LUCRETII III. 691-694.

Namque ita conexa est per venas viscera nervos  
Ossaque, uti dentes quoque sensu participentur;  
Morsus ut indicat et gelidai stringor aquai  
Et lapis oppressus †subitis e frugibus asper.

FOR the corrupt words *subitis e* Laminus mentions two conjectures, viz. *subito de* and *sub dente e*. Lachmann reads *subiens e*; Bernays, who is followed by Munro, substitutes *subiit si e*; Albert C. Clark (*Classical Review*, Vol. XXV. p. 74), *subsit si*.

None of these conjectures can be approved. For it looks very improbable that the word *fruges*, used by itself, without any adjective like *tostae* or *coctae*, should mean real bread. It generally includes all leguminous products together, for instance when Lucretius says, 'facile expletur laticum frugumque cupido' (IV. 1093); but bread, while it is being eaten cannot be indicated by *fruges* only (*Comp.* I. 881). Consequently, instead of *subitis* we want an

adjective, like *tostis*. It would seem improbable that Lucretius, who is so fond of alliteration, should not have used here: *frictis frugibus*. So I suppose that Lucretius wrote:

Et lapis oppressus sub frictis frugibus asper.

The *pausae* are the same as in l. 691:

Namque ita conexa est per venas viscera nervos.

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### VIRGIL, AEN. XII. 161.

Interea reges, ingenti mole Latinus  
quadriugo vehitur curru.

I HAVE not consulted all the editions but the words 'ingenti mole' are usually taken with *Latinus*. It is pretty obvious that they should go with 'curru'—'a chariot of great size.' I do not know whether this suggestion has been made before, but it is rendered certain by another passage in Virgil, viii. 693:

Tanta mole viri turritis puppibus instant.

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### THUC. VII. 47. 1.

ἦν αὐτόθι πολὺ τὸ βουλόμενον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις γίνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα.

Doubts have been cast upon the correctness of the text here. A simple correction, which does not appear to have been made, would be <ὑπὸ> τοῖς Ἀ. So Hdt. vii. 11. ἵνα ἡ τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήσι ἢ ἐκείνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι γένηται.

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## REVIEWS

### HISTOIRE DE L'ART DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ.

*Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité. Tome IX.: La Grèce archaïque: la glyptique, la numismatique, la peinture, la céramique.* Par GEORGES PERROT Pp. 703, 22 plates, 367 figures. Paris; Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1911. Price 30 francs.

I HAVE not hitherto written any notice of the colossal work of which the book before us is the ninth volume; and I am glad of an opportunity to repair the omission. Every student of ancient art owes an immense debt to M. Perrot, and his colleague M. Chipiez, whose

recent death has fortunately not prevented M. Perrot from proceeding with his plan. The work is in the best sense one of popularisation. Passing over an enormous field, the author cannot be at every point a specialist, or write with intimate knowledge. He is content usually to follow the best authorities, and he has the good sense not to hide his indebtedness. Sometimes he transcribes whole pages of the writers in whom he has the greatest confidence. This course is by far the best for the reader, who thus learns the best opinions, and finds where to look for a more complete statement. There is a class of extreme specialists who, finding their own views passed by, or noting the occasional want of intimate knowledge, are apt to sneer at such encyclopædic works. But M. Perrot has precisely the qualities in which these specialists are usually defective, common-sense and moderation, and he attains an end which they would never reach.

I shall not say anything about the earlier volumes of the series dealing with the art of Asia and Egypt, nor of the volume which treats of prehistoric Greece; the last mentioned was unfortunately written before the Cretan discoveries of Sir A. Evans. But of those which deal with the art of early Greece I can speak in very high terms. The volumes on the architecture and the sculpture of the sixth century B.C. are probably the best introduction to those subjects in existence. The facts as regards the early art of Ionia, of Athens, of Delphi and other sites are set forth very simply, but with a method and a fulness which will make M. Perrot's seventh and eighth volumes a standard work for a long time to come. The excellence of M. Chipiez's architectural drawings is noteworthy, and makes the reader regret his decease almost as much as does M. Perrot himself.

The present volume treats of the other branches of archaic Greek art, of gems, coins, painting and vases. Gems are a very difficult field, and in spite of the great work of Furtwängler, I cannot regard them as yet reduced to order. M. Perrot treats coins from the point of view of art only. This was

necessary from the plan of his work, which does not concern itself with history and economics; but of course it is not possible on these lines to give any full or satisfactory account of Greek coins, which are primarily a medium of exchange, and only secondarily works of art.

But when we come to painting and vases, M. Perrot is at his best. With M. Pottier as consulting authority as to the latter, and the artists of Paris to advise him in regard to the former, he is full of information and of suggestion, and gives the best views in a manner well calculated to stimulate as well as to instruct.

There can scarcely be a better test of the method of a writer than the subject of ancient painting; our sources of information in regard to it being scattered and fragmentary rather than deficient, though of course we can never hope to find really good examples. M. Perrot describes clearly the processes used by the Greeks in fresco and encaustic painting, citing constantly modern parallels: he shews for example the great advantage possessed by the Pompeian painters in the depth of the stucco on which they worked, which enabled them to keep a moist surface damp for days; and he holds that researches such as those of Donner and Cros and Henri have finally established, apart from lesser details, what the encaustic process really was.

He observes that the artists of Ionia, in the seventh and sixth centuries, had already taken to depicting scenes of contemporary history, a custom from which they were later to a great extent driven by the dominance of the resolutely ideal art of Athens. He suggests that Pisistratus must have collected at Athens not only the Ionian sculptors who have left us their signatures on the Acropolis, but also the painters, who dominated Attic taste until the great set-back of the Persian War, which brought out for the benefit of all future ages the qualities in which Athens and Argos and Sicyon surpassed not only the Ionians but all others.

So far perhaps there is not much which is new to the reader; M. Perrot had excellent authorities. When he



comes to the vases he takes a more independent line. Perhaps better than any one he has brought out the striking qualities of the painted sarcophagi, which so strangely seem to come only from Clazomenae. The stirring and lively scenes depicted on them, even the curious varieties in the technical execution, testify to an art which was thoroughly alive, although mainly devoted to the decoration of coffins. And he makes a vigorous protest against the procedure of such writers as Boehlau (Aus Ionischen Nekropolen) who proceed on the slightest and most ambiguous evidence to assign one fabric of vases to Samos, one to Miletus, one to Phoea, and so forth. It is much safer, with M. Perrot, to regard only a few schools of Ionian pottery as definitely located, notably at the Dorian islands of Rhodes and Melos. M. Perrot's language is somewhat strong, though not without justification. 'Pourquoi s'obstiner ainsi à chercher partout ailleurs qu'à Rhodes le lieu de naissance des vases que l'isle nous a fournis en nombre? Il y a là un parti pris, un goût de l'hypothèse gratuite que je n'arrive pas à m'expliquer' (p. 416). In fact M. Perrot's pages 402-412 contain all the important facts as to the places of origin of vases of the Ionian class which are to be trusted. In the absence of inscriptions we can scarcely carry the inquiry to a definite issue.

A full description of the vases of Ionia, their styles and periods, their colouring and design, their treatment of myth and daily life, occupies two hundred pages of the book before us. It is so well illustrated that the reader can follow it, at all events as to the chief points, without going further. It is a task well done, and one which greatly needed doing. Few scholars know much about the Ionian vases. But in fact the progress of discovery, which has revealed to us but little Ionian sculpture, has brought to the light such a number of Ionic vases that we can use them seriously in our attempts to reconstruct the character of the people. They shew us a race with a keen and vivid love of nature, little trammelled by convention, intensely

fond of everything that was amusing, of bright colours and rich dress. The pottery of Ionia, compared with that of Greece proper, is far more variegated and less sombre in aspect. It is almost entirely without inscriptions, evidently to suit the taste of people who did not read. The subjects are not learned or recondite: they explain themselves. And there is a prevailing element of frivolity: few peoples have been less subject to religious awe or strict morality than these fascinating free livers. With the Persian wars Ionian pottery comes to an end; in Greece there was a strong reaction towards Dorian sobriety and measure; and Athens seems to have made her pottery as well as her coins the universal currency of the Levant.

A good example of the way in which M. Perrot looks at ancient remains in a historic light may be found in his treatment of the so-called proto-Corinthian vases, small vessels for perfume, of a well-known character. These vessels are found at many sites, and have well illustrated the danger of arguing from find-spot alone to the place of manufacture of small and easily carried pots. Waldstein found many of them at the Heraeum, and so would regard them as an Argive product: other archaeologists on like grounds would attribute them to Aegina and other cities. M. Perrot's view of them at all events fits well into history. After the Mycenaean age, when unguents were exported in what are called stirrup vases, it was natural, he observes, that the trade in unguents, which came from Syria and Arabia should pass into the hands of the Phoenicians; and in fact at such sites as Cameirus in Rhodes Phoenician unguent vases are abundant. When the trade of Tyre and Sidon passed away to the West, the trade in unguents, very important both to athletes and the women of Greece, probably fell mainly into the hands of Corinth, a city which had many oriental traditions, and probably much Syrian blood; and it was to the potters of Corinth that was due the great production of proto-Corinthian unguent vases. The forms, with a more advanced decoration, were pre-

served in the later unguent vases of Corinth. 'Even before the coming-in of the Dorians, the perfume makers of the Phoenician market at Corinth may already have been in the habit of substituting, as the vehicles of their products, earthenware vases for those of glass or faience: it was earthenware which the Greeks used for all domestic purposes. At any rate in hellenised Corinth, the only Corinth we know, clay was the only material used by the manufacturers for the purpose.'<sup>1</sup> Probably other cities near copied the fabric, for, as M. Perrot well observes, there was in the ancient Greek world no law of patent.

Another interesting class of vases of which the place of making is in dispute is the so-called Cyrenaic. The most remarkable of these, painted with the scene where King Arcesilas is represented weighing out silphium (or, as others think, wool) can scarcely have been made save at Cyrene, nor can the other vase on which the nymph Cyrene stands among the wind-gods. But the English excavators at Sparta have discovered that the Cyrenaic fabric takes its place in the series of styles which succeeded one another at Sparta itself. Hence

they have proposed Sparta as the source of all these vases. This view M. Perrot, rightly as I think, rejects. It would be a somewhat violent hypothesis to regard Sparta as a centre for the export of pottery; while on the other hand the abundance of terracottas which has come from Cyrene proves that the people of that city were used to working in clay.

We wish M. Perrot good progress with his further volumes. It is an inspiring sight to see the practised veteran struggling with one national art after another, working up the best authorities, carefully considering all theories, bringing a constantly growing mass of experience to bear upon the history of ancient art. No one who wants to know what early Greece was really like can afford to neglect these volumes. They throw into many dark places a light which is clear and brilliant. And while singularly free from pedantry, the work is not in any bad sense popular. Those who search may find, here and there, gaps in M. Perrot's knowledge: but it would be very hard to find another work on such a scale, and of such scope, which reaches so high a standard of trustworthiness.

<sup>1</sup> P. 591.

P. GARDNER.

#### THIELING'S *KLEIN AFRIKA*.

*Der Hellenismus in Klein Afrika. Der griechische Einfluss in den Römischen Provinzen Nordwest Africa's, von WALTER THIELING, Dr. Phil.* i vol. 8vo. Pp. xii + 216. 1 map of N.-W. Africa in Roman times. Leipzig: Teubner. November, 1911. M. 8.

It is not easy for an author on classical subjects to find so fresh and untrodden a field. For though the present work quotes a great many authorities on special points, we are not aware that anyone has followed out the fortunes of this curious and isolated part of the world through many centuries. The very opening pages, showing the peculiar geographical features which make up this country or Africa Minor, much more distinct than Asia

Minor, suggest a peculiar history. The earliest inhabitants we know are not of African or Semitic, but rather of Indo-European, type, and the mountain chains are explained by Ritter as connected with the Apennine and Sierra Nevada chains. Hence this isolated portion of Africa is not unlike a larger Sicily, and, lying on the Mediterranean Sea, has been peopled from the earliest ages by the various races that wandered over that highway. But very remarkably and exceptionally the early race which we call Berbers has maintained itself through millenniums of foreign conquest, and is still a great force in the population. This appears to be the main reason why the long Roman occupation did not give rise to a Romance language akin to French,

Spanish, and Provençal. Dr. Thieling rather attributes this failure to the earlier and more complete conquest by the Arab invaders. The former seems to us the deeper and more permanent cause, though of course the Arab conquest aided the extinction of Latin very forcibly.

The book before us is so full of highly interesting matter of many kinds, that no brief review could possibly give an adequate idea of its learning. Perhaps the most regrettable omission is that of some illustrations showing us the peculiar art of Carthage: we mean the wonderful 'anthropoid' sarcophagi, and the mosaic pictures of Roman villas set up on the walls of rooms in the museum at Tunis. These, which are practically unknown to northern scholars, give more vivid pictures than many words. Le Père Delattre has been for years the moving spirit in recovering the remains of Carthage, but his admirable work is printed in French periodicals, and therefore little known in England. We should also gladly have seen reproductions of the statues with which King Juba II. adorned his capital of Caesaria in Mauretania (now Cherchell), seeing that he was archaistic in his taste, and obtained copies of the best work of the early golden age from Athens. But we know that such ornaments would have greatly increased the price of the

book, and possibly hindered its general usefulness.

The main interest to the world in this Africa Minor will always remain its condition under the Roman Empire. For the Phoenicians were always foreigners, and their domination at Carthage never made itself at home like the Roman culture that produced Fronto, Apuleius, Cyprian, Lactantius, and Augustine. Dr. Thieling holds that in the third century A.D. the Graeco-Roman culture which made the province of Africa famous spread from there to Gaul and Britain, where he says that English and Irish monasteries in the seventh and eighth centuries showed a diffused knowledge of Greek. This last statement we are disposed to question, but not that Christian culture came into Northern Europe by way of Africa, Gaul, and Spain. African Latin prose is said to show more Graecisms than usual, and it is a question discussed carefully by the author how far the causes are general or special. There is a whole chapter on the Greek names of persons in the local inscriptions, and a very learned analysis of their peculiarities. But, as we said already, in this short volume of 200 pages there is an amount of learning displayed which baffles any attempt at an adequate review within narrow limits of space.

#### MAURICE THE PHILOSOPHER.

*Maurice the Philosopher (a Dialogue); or, Happiness, Love and the Good.* By HAROLD P. COOKE. With an Introduction by Dr. F. C. S. SCHILLER. Pp. xiii + 107. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Son, Ltd., 1912. 2s. 6d. net.

WITHIN its brief limits, this volume handles fundamental problems in ethics, and has received what may be termed, in a philosophic sense, its 'pragmatic sanction' from Dr. Schiller. It contains two dialogues, the first on 'Love and Happiness,' the second on 'Happiness the Good'; and these are summarised in sixty quatrains in the metre of

FitzGerald's *Omar Khayyám*. The suggestion is that the predicate 'good' should be identified with 'absolutely satisfactory,' and that love is the chief element contributing towards the universal happiness which constitutes the ideal. The interlocutors are three young Oxford men who in a pleasant garden conduct their discussions with taste and vivacity. The moral theory involved has for background the eighth and ninth books of *The Nicomachean Ethics*, although the prominence assigned to *φιλία* as an essential feature of the Good and the aspiration after immortality are matters wherein the author

goes beyond Aristotle. At the same time, these very points recall views stated in Mr. Lowes Dickinson's vigorous dialogue on *The Meaning of Good*, where the larger number of interlocutors affords opportunity for wider variety of outlook and experience.

Mr. Cooke has aimed at producing a Platonic dialogue in modern surroundings. He tells us that this little volume is 'a work of four years'; and much time has therefore been devoted to attaining finish of style in what is admittedly a difficult literary form. Even so, there are slips of expression; one is tempted, for example, to ask whether a tree can 'branch into one more point' (p. 41), and in a few places the punctuation could be improved. The use of a setting susceptible of elegant description is a Platonic tradition in philosophic dialogue which Berkeley's refined English may be said to have sanctioned and perpetuated. While, no doubt, it is hard to fix exact limits for such descriptions, and for the introduction of detail calculated to lend verisimilitude to the conversation, yet here probably some readers would wish for less detail. Thus, in a symposium where the wine of antiquity and the ale of FitzGerald's *Euphranor* have given place to whisky, perhaps too insistent reference is made to the liquor used. At the same time, Mr. Cooke is remarkably successful in his dramatic management; he makes the conversation generally natural and polished; and in Leonard, who is mainly in opposition, he has created a living figure. The other two speakers are occasionally in their mutual worship ultra-sentimental; 'beloved one,' for

instance, is a curious mode of address from one man to another. In fact, the 'love' of the dialogue, being Hellenic and non-romantic, seems unduly restricted to affection among a few select persons—bachelors evidently by preference—to the exclusion of broader and at least equally precious charities; so that one feels that if the interlocutors had been drawn as more in touch with the stern realities of life and more concerned with social problems, the speculations would have had to take other turns.

Mr. Cooke's suggestive line of argument is well exemplified in the second dialogue, where students of philosophy will detect certain criticisms bearing on contentions in Mr. G. E. Moore's *Principia Ethica*. The Platonic myth introduced as a culmination to the dialogue is very beautifully narrated.

The author is no party to the ancient feud between poetry and philosophy, and so turns from prose to restate his main findings in verse. His quatrains, often reminiscent of Tennyson and FitzGerald, are skilfully composed; but they would have gained in musical effect from greater variety of rhyme-sounds and from the avoidance of occasional halting lines like

'For you pronounce this theory good, and I that.'

At a time when special attention is being directed to the teaching not only of Latin and Greek but of philosophy through a fuller return to oral methods, this book ought to interest students as well as ordinary readers.

J. WIGHT DUFF.

#### THALHEIM'S TEXT OF ARISTOTLE'S CONSTITUTION OF ATHENS.

*Aristotelis Πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων post Friedericum Blass edidit TH. THALHEIM.*  
Small 8vo. Pp. xv + 128. Leipzig:  
Teubner, 1909. M. 1.50 paper cover;  
M. 1.90 cloth.

BETWEEN 1892 and 1903 four editions of the *Constitution of Athens* were prepared by Blass for the Teubner series.

The present edition has been entrusted, by the same publishers, to the competent hands of Thalheim, who is well known to scholars as an authority on Attic Law, and as a judicious critic of the text of the Attic orators. The title *Πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων* has been retained in this new edition, although there is apparently only one passage in which



that order is found, namely in the Argument to the *Areopagiticus* of Isocrates, ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, while the other order, Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, is supported by 51 passages in Harpocration, who generally writes either ἐν (or ἐν τῇ) Ἀθηναίων Πολιτείᾳ, and twice has ἐκ τῆς—Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας. Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία is also supported by the title in the catalogue of Aristotle's works published in the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1866, p. 432.

In the preface the remarks made by Blass on matters of prose-rhythm, as exemplified in this treatise, have been omitted, and a similar fate has befallen the Appendix to edition 4, in which Blass made many suggestions solely for reasons of rhythm.

In the bibliography there are several minor errors. M. Dufour's pamphlet was published, not in 1897, but in 1895. Mr. Kenyon's last two articles in the *Classical Review* are not in Vols. VIII. and XII., but in Vols. XIV. and XVII. Professor Lehmann-Haupt's paper appeared in *Klio* VI (not IV). Mr. F. T. Rickards (of Bombay) has been (not unnaturally) confounded with the late Mr. F. T. Richards (of Oxford); and, similarly, the late Dr. Henry Sidgwick's two economical or political articles in Vol. VIII of the *Classical Review* have been assigned to Mr. Arthur Sidgwick. Lastly, the article on Aristotle's *Criticism of the Spartan Government*, contributed to Vol. VII p. 439 by Prof. E. G. Sihler (here printed J. E. Sihler), has nothing whatsoever to do with the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, and

has therefore no claim to appear in the bibliography.

Among editors of this treatise there is now a more general consensus of opinion as to the text. The present editor has, happily, set aside all purely rhythmical considerations, and has supplied us with a text that is eminently sober and judicious. He has discussed several passages in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1908-9, and he has incorporated a few of his own conjectures in the text. Of these the best, perhaps, is that in c. 15, § 4, where he proposes ἐκκλησιάζειν ἐπεχείρει καὶ [χρόνον μὲν ἡκκλησί]σσει μικρόν. I have accepted this in the revised and enlarged edition of my commentary, which will shortly be published.

In conclusion, I may here draw attention to an excellent proposal communicated to me by Mr. W. L. Newman in October last, too late to be incorporated in my commentary. In the ordinary text of c. 35 § 4, ὑπεξαιρούμενοι τε τὸν φόβον καὶ βουλόμενοι τὰς οὐσίας διαρπάζειν, Mr. Newman once suggested that τὸν φόβον meant 'the object of their fear' (*Classical Review*, V. 164 b). He now prefers inserting διὰ:—ὑπεξαιρούμενοι <διὰ> τε τὸν φόβον καὶ βουλόμενοι κ.τ.λ., thus making their fear and their desire for plunder the two motives for getting rid of the wealthiest and most prominent citizens. He compares Xenophon's *Hieron*, c. 5 § 3, ὅταν δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους διὰ τὸν φόβον ὑπεξαιρῶνται.

J. E. SANDYS.

Cambridge.

#### LA PHRASE À VERBE 'ÊTRE' EN LATIN.

*La Phrase à verbe 'être' en Latin.* Par J. MAROUZEAU. 1 vol. 10" x 6½". Pp. viii + 334. Paris: Geuthner, 1910.

'Il y avait ainsi une grande richesse d'expression dans la seule disposition des deux termes du groupe attributif. Toutes les nuances que dans la langue parlée nous rendons par l'intonation, les Latins pouvaient les rendre dans la langue écrite par la disposition des mots. Ce n'étaient jamais que des

nuances, et le procédé était sans doute trop délicat pour être conscient. Mais il ne nous est pas pour cela interdit de l'analyser. Et l'on verra dans la seconde partie comment certaines particularités d'accentuation, de morphologie, de métrique, confirment le rapport qui vient d'être établi entre la valeur des termes et leur position.'

This paragraph (p. 94) will give some idea of the contents of this book. It is a very elaborate study of a particular

type of sentence in early Latin. It is based on a thorough sifting of the works of Plautus and Terence. 'Les observations qui seront présentées ici reposent autant que possible sur des dépouillements complets.' Every statement is supported by abundant evidence, and the writer is careful not to pass over in silence any examples which may seem not to conform to his rules. The Historical Appendix gives very interesting information as to later Latin.

The author begins with an excellent chapter on the nature of the 'phrase attributive.' To a great extent, he says, Subject and Attribute (if I may use the word here in the French sense of Predicative Adjective or Noun) are not distinguished. Sometimes they are logically indistinguishable: the Roman says 'Ego is sum' and the German 'Ich bin es,' but in French ('C'est moi') and English ('It's me') the grammatical relation is reversed. 'Ce que nous montre l'état ancien de la langue, c'est l'indifférence parfaite vis-à-vis de la distinction grammaticale des termes sujet-attribut.' Hence the Attribute, if variable, agrees with the Subject (*iracundia mala est*) or *vice versa* (*ea iracundia est, nugae istae sunt*). In case too there is no distinction: 'illi licet esse beato' is normal; "'expedit bonas esse vobis" marque peut-être le début d'une construction nouvelle.'

But so far as Subject and Attribute are distinguished, the verb belongs to the Attribute; hence the normal agreement:

Paupertas mihi onus *visum* est.  
Amantium irae amoris redintegratio *est*.

No one can read this book without feeling that the order of words is much less free, in verse as well as prose, than is generally supposed. In his Introduction M. Marouzeau shows the importance of the principle 'que la valeur d'un mot dépend de la position qu'il occupe vis-à-vis de son appartenant syntaxique,' a principle that he has followed in his book, *Place du pronom personnel sujet en Latin*. In the work before us he shows that in reference to the Copula the position of the Subject may vary freely without affect-

ing the sense, but that the position of the Attribute is significant, and he proceeds to show with great fulness the difference of meaning produced by the inversion or separation of the Attribute and Copula.

He sums up thus (p. 70) the results:

En résumé la disposition des deux termes du groupe est déterminée par les raisons suivantes:

(a) La copule est *normalement* postposée à l'attribut;—elle l'est nécessairement quand il y a lieu d'insister sur la nature de l'attribut.

(b) La copule est antéposée à l'attribut: 1. Quand on veut affirmer plutôt que définir une attribution. 2. Quand l'idée de l'attribut étant supposée présente à l'esprit, il ne s'agit que de la rappeler. 3. D'une manière générale quand c'est une circonstance de l'attribution, et non pas l'énoncé de l'attribut qui est le but de la phrase.

This summary may be illustrated by examples from earlier pages:

(a) Normal: *Aequum est, potis est, nisi molestum est.*

Necessary:

*Non ego erus tibi, sed seruos sum*  
*Lupus est . . . non homo.*

(b) 1. *Sed ego sum insipientior qui rebus curem publicis*, like the English 'Well, I am a fool to do that!'

2. *Cur. 51. Pudica est—est confirmé pour les incrédules par*

*Ibid. 57. At illa est pudica*  
= mais elle l'est vraiment

. . . Cara omnia.

3. *Atque eo fuerunt cariora: aes non erat.*  
= et *voici* la raison pour laquelle . . .

So far we have been speaking of the Copula. But 'esse' has another use, namely as 'verbe d'existence.' When it is used in this sense, the position of the Subject is significant. The normal order is shown in

*Homo quidam est qui*, Il y a . . ., There is (or, There is) a man.

The effect of inversion is shown in—

*Est profecto deus*=pour sûr il existe une divinité, There is . . .

'Le rapport du sujet à *esse* verbe d'existence est assimilable au rapport de l'attribut à *esse* copule.'

It will be seen that the author examines the sentence, as it were, under a microscope, and that as the result of this minute scrutiny of thousands of specimens he is able to tell us of subtle differences of meaning which are not

generally seen or at least not seen clearly. How subtle these differences are he indicates in the quotation with which I began. But he has, I think, made good his contention that 'il ne nous est pas pour cela interdit de l'analyser.' The conclusions which he reaches in Part I. are confirmed to a remarkable extent in the Second Part, in which the subject is approached from a different point of view. Roughly

speaking, Part I. treats of the sense of the words, Part II. of their sound.

I have not space to deal with the very full treatment of the use of the Participles nor with the careful study of the 'Phrase nominale pure.' On these topics the Historical Appendix is specially interesting. There is a useful Index to the passages quoted from Plautus and Terence

W. E. P. PANTIN.

### TRAUBE, *VORLESUNGEN*, VOL. II.

*Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, von LUDWIG TRAUBE, herausgegeben von Franz Boll. Zweiter Band: *Einführung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters*. Pp. viii + 176. München: C. H. Bech'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1911.

THIS second volume contains the lectures delivered by Traube on his appointment to the newly-created Chair at Munich University of Mediaeval Latin. They cover an enormously wide field of subjects, mapped out in three divisions: (1) Mediaeval Latin MSS., (2) Mediaeval Latin language, (3) Mediaeval Latin literature, and serve, as the title shows, to introduce the student to this new branch of study and to provide him with a bibliography. They are, it need hardly be said, of paramount importance for the palaeographer and the historian. But the readers, too, of this journal will find much that is interesting. For example, on p. 21 Traube argues that all our extant Latin MSS. (except the Egyptian and the Herculean papyri) are by Christian scribes; on p. 25 he mentions that in Insular (Irish and English) MSS. *si* was written precisely as *fi* was written in MSS. of the Continent, so that a Continental scribe would be sure to write *definit* instead of *desinit* in transcribing from an Insular original; on p. 40 he shows that the old theory is wrong, which supposed the Latin classics to have been sheltered through the Dark Ages in the haven of Irish monasteries, for archetypes in Irish script were rather written in Continental monasteries by

Irish missionary monks than in Ireland itself; on p. 59 he specifies some criteria for the Spanish provenience of an archetype, such as the spelling *quum*, the exchange of *v* and *f*, aphaeresis (e.g. *Srael* for *Israel*); on p. 67 he enumerates some monkish corruptions of text—e.g. *abbas se crevit* for *ab asse crevit* (Petron. 43), *Galileae* for *galeae* (Val. Flacc. 3, 76), *qui demonibus* for *quidem omnibus* (Cic. *Epp.* 72, 48 M.), *unigenitio* for *uni negotio* (Vell. 2, 114, 1). The metrical element in Latin Prose, so much discussed recently, is explained, so far as regards Mediaeval Latin literature, on pp. 115-121. In his account (on pp. 123 sqq.) of the 'subscriptiones' in our MSS. of the Latin Classics (e.g. the Mavortius 'scriptio' in Horace MSS.), which tell of the editorial activity of the fifth century, his bibliography includes (besides the well-known treatises of Jahn, Haase, and Reifferscheid, and Birt's 'Antikes Buchwesen') Lommatzsch 'Literarische Bewegungen in Rom im 4 und 5 Jahrhundert nach Christus' (in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, XV. (1904), pp. 177-192) and Usener 'Anecdota Holderi' (in the *Festschrift zur Begrüssung der XXXII. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner*. Bonn, 1877). These 'subscriptiones' are to be treated in a volume of the 'Quellen und Untersuchungen' by Traube's pupil, Dr. B. A. Müller. The immediately following pages, dealing with the mediaeval transmission of the Latin masterpieces will be the most interesting to a classical scholar, who will, however, glean valuable information

throughout the whole volume. The remark (on p. 90), that it is only in Latin MSS. written by Irish scribes that an irregular division of syllables between lines, such as *p | uncto*, is found, should be remembered by editors of fragmentary MSS. Tested by this rule a large number of the conjectural supplements of fragmentary lines accepted in Müller's edition of Festus will be seen to be impossible. The fragmentary *Codex Farnesianus* of Festus was written in Italy (probably at or near Rome, according to Dr. E. A. Loew, the leading authority on Italian script); and no Italian scribe would be guilty of a monstrosity like (p. 318, l. 5) so | l or (p. 310, l. 31) parti | m.

Mommsen's conjecture (on p. 330, l. 23) scrib | <it> is impossible, but not Müller's scrib | <tae>. Festus spelt *strittavum* (p. 314, l. 24), not *stritavum*, since the fragmentary MS. shows *strit* at the end of the line. Marx suggests <terro> r as the ending of the Lucilius verse in Festus (p. 257, l. 33); but the scribe can hardly have written *terror*, for the r (according to Marx the final r of the word) stands at the beginning of a line. Indeed, this whole book of Traube's emphasises the warning that the Latin classics cannot be edited rightly without a considerable acquaintance with Latin Palaeography.

W. M. LINDSAY.

## SHORT NOTICES

*C. Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiae*. Vol. II., Libri vii.-xv. Ed. CAROLUS MAYHOFF. 8vo. Pp. xiv + 592. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1909. M. 8.

WHEN Dr. Mayhoff, in 1902, brought out the third volume of the Teubner Pliny, it was practically the first volume of a new edition, so great was the change in the method of arrangement from that which he had followed in 1875, when his first recension of Vol. II. was published. The present recension of Vol. II., containing books vii.-xv., marks the completion of that new edition. The codices on the collation of which the text is mainly based are named at the head of the page; a useful collection of Testimonia is printed below the text, and the critical notes are full. The editor shows the same diligent care as before *emendationum suo quamque auctori reddere*. For this and the preceding volume he has himself collated two codices, a (*Vindob.* ccxxxiv.) and F (*Leid. Lips.* vii.), and has been led to attach an independent value to F, which he believes to be a parallel copy from the same archetype as D, and not a copy of D itself, as Detlefsen supposed. The connection between D and F appears in any case to be closer than that between F and

R or any other codex of the same family.

The text is in many respects more conservative than that of 1875; in particular the more precise knowledge of Pliny's style, which is due to the work of J. Müller and others, has led to the omission in the present volume of a multitude of small additions previously inserted against the consensus of the MSS. Dr. Mayhoff, however, admits to the text, or prints in the critical notes, many conjectural emendations. Among these a considerable number are his own, many of them convincing, and many probable. In ix. 36, for example, *tacite* is much the best conjecture made for supplying the missing word between *adnatave . . . leniterque*; and in xi. 154 *fuco* for *vero* seems certain. But all the emendations accepted are not equally attractive; and some appear to be quite arbitrary. To take a few examples: In viii. 81 for *id quoque fabius* of the MSS., Dr. Mayhoff reads *id quoque adicit*, which seems far-fetched in comparison with Pellicerius's *fabulosius*. In ix. 5 *tanta, ut alias thynnorum, multitudine* can hardly be right for *et alias, tanta, etc.*, which needs no correction. The point of Pliny's account lies in the vast shoals of tunny seen by



Alexander's soldiers. Again, in xi. 276, where *oculi quibuscumque sunt longi* is the reading of all the MSS., it is difficult to see how Dr. Mayhoff's *quibus utrimque* is nearer to *ὅς ἂν μὲν ὡς μακροί*, the words of Aristotle on which no doubt the passage Pliny quotes from Trogus is based. In viii. 32 it is unsatisfactory to fall back on the traditional text *commoritur ea dimicatio, victusque*. The *dimicatio* of *ἴ* (*Par. Lat.* 6799) certainly suggests Detlefsen's *dimicatione*. Possibly Pliny wrote . . . *cum, moriturus ea dimicatione victusque*, but no emendation proposed as yet seems really final. However, though much may remain doubtful in the reconstruction of the words of Pliny, Dr. Mayhoff has certainly given us a greatly improved text, and deserves our gratitude.

K. JEX-BLAKE.

*Latin and English Idiom.* By H. DARNLEY NAYLOR, Professor of Classics in Adelaide University. Cambridge University Press.

PROFESSOR DARNLEY NAYLOR is of course quite right to advocate translation of Latin into good English, even at the expense of absolute literalness. Free renderings into idiomatic English are (he says) 'condemned for a piece of impertinent paraphrase.' One may ask, by whom? The Professor, I hope,

is beating the air. Surely no scholar who is not making a crib for Passmen thinks of translating Latin quite literally. We all aim at good English. However, it is ungracious to criticise; for Professor Naylor has provided an excellent object-lesson by translating Livy's preface into very good English indeed. Some day he ought to go on to Cicero, whose style is essentially even more un-English than Livy's, and therefore should provide a greater number of instructive problems.

*Gesammelte philologische Schriften* von JOHANNES VAHLEN. 1 Theil: Schriften der Wiener Zeit, 1858-1874. Leipzig: Teubner, 1911. M. 14; Cloth M. 16.50.

WE have already noticed in the *Classical Review* the collections of Vahlen's Latin opuscula. This volume includes all the papers of moderate length, but excludes four long papers on Aristotle's *Poetics* and on Laurentius Valla, which are long enough to go by themselves. The papers are not brought up-to-date, but printed as they are; except that a few references are given to later work on the same subjects. Aristotle is the favourite subject here: his *Poetics*, *Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Rhetoric*, with miscellaneous notes, fill about a third of the volume. Other authors treated are Lycophron, Plato, Ennius, Plautus, Horace, Varro, Cicero and Livy.

## NOTES AND NEWS

SCOTLAND is very useful in educational matters: it makes experiments—sometimes with less than the national caution—and tabulates the results for the benefit of the Southron. Thus, the *Oxford Magazine* has been advocating the reform of Responsions by the substitution of 'Unseens' for passages from prepared books; and then comes Professor G. G. Ramsay, and tells the *Magazine* that Scotch ex-

perience is against this. Unseens are of course excellent, he says, for Bursary examinations. But when the Commission of 1889 made a 'Preliminary' examination at Universities in which all the translation papers were unprepared, this was not found to work nearly so well, as a test of the 'ordinary men coming from less favoured schools' than those which produced the best scholars. The

ordinary man, Professor Ramsay says, could pass the Preliminary examination 'without having any knowledge of the history, the literature, the institutions, the life of ancient Greece or Rome; without having been trained in the careful getting up of books; without, in short, having received any of the more valuable results of a classical education.' Such candidates had been crammed in Unseens by reading snippets of books here and there: they had never studied anything thoroughly. Professor Ramsay's conclusion is that 'Unseens are excellently fitted for the Honourman; they are not fitted by themselves for the Passman.' The self-styled 'Progressives' of the South do not agree with that. They have

before them the vision of the unlettered physicist who knows no Greek, but can learn the crib of the *Alcestis* and *Hecuba* by heart.

A 'Note' in the same paper commemorates the Rev. A. J. Church, formerly of Lincoln College, afterwards Professor of Latin in the University of London. Professor Church's services to classical study are known to all readers of this *Review*, and to many besides. We shall not readily forget so excellent a scholar and populariser (in the best way) of classical scholarship. He touched very many things and adorned them all; and retained his skill till past an age when most have ceased to write.

## THE ORIGIN OF TRAGEDY: A REPLY.

IN the March number of this *Review* Mr. A. W. Pickard Cambridge criticised at great length my *Origin of Tragedy*. As he had had fifteen months to study my little book, and to elaborate his criticisms (doubtless in the light, too, of other reviews), it is not unreasonable to suppose that every possible objection to my views has been put forward by him. Mr. Cambridge is convinced that my case is not a good one either in its destructive or its constructive aspects. If, on the other hand, I can show that he has failed to break down my main propositions, the theory must be regarded as for the time in possession of the field.

I hold that the Dorian claim to the invention of the dithyramb and of Tragedy was not well founded; that Tragedy proper was not Dionysiac in origin, but began in mimetic ritual performed at the tombs of heroes; that the only true Dionysiac element is the Satyric drama; that the tomb of the hero became the thymele of Dionysus, or that the latter took its place beside the former; and that the grand step made by Thespis was to lift Tragedy from being a mere piece of ritual attached to a particular shrine into a true form of literature, which might be performed anywhere.

1. All writers base their views on Aristotle's statement that Tragedy 'originated with the leaders of the dithyramb.' I give some five arguments to show that the Dorians neither invented the dithyramb nor Tragedy proper. Mr. Cambridge ignores these, and thinks that he has disposed of me when he states that 'my arguments that the dithyramb was not Dorian because Lasos was *probably* [the italics are his] not Dorian, and that it was not originally Dionysiac because Lasos *may* [again not mine] have sung the sorrows of heroes, are very weak.' But my proofs are (1) that Aristotle did not admit the claim of the Dorians (in which Mr. Cambridge says that I am right); (2) that the choral odes in Attic tragedies are not in the Doric dialect, as universally assumed, but are only in old Attic; (3) that the Athenians, who would not even allow a Dorian king into their temples, would not have borrowed the dialect of the hated Dorians for their sacred hymns; (4) that Arion, who, according to Herodotus (I. 23), first invented the dithyramb and produced it at Corinth, was not a Dorian, but an Aeolian from Lesbos; and (5) that Archilochus (670 B.C.), our earliest authority for the word, was not a Dorian, but an Ionian.

My critic says that I am wrong in holding that the Athenians did not allow Dorians to enter into their sanctuaries, because 'the passage cited [Herod. V. 72, not 71, as he gives it] only records the refusal of the priestess of Athena to allow Cleomenes to enter the adyton of Athena.' But he not only disregards the plural, *Δωριεῦσι* (οὐ γὰρ θεμίτον Δωριεῦσι παρίεναι κ.τ.λ.), which is surely general enough, but also the King's reply, 'I am not a Dorian, but an Achean,' thereby admitting that Dorians were not allowed to enter. Mr. Cambridge might have remembered that though the Carians admitted their kindred Lydians and Mysians into the temple of Zeus at Mylasa, they kept out all others, even though they spake Carian (Herod. VI. 59).

Mr. Cambridge holds that Herodotus' statement about Arion does not mean that he was the first to use the term *dithyramb*, but that 'the word means that Archilochus (*sic*) gave names to his dithyrambs, making them regular compositions with definite subjects.' But as Herodotus says that Arion was the first to compose a dithyramb, no one could have previously applied the term dithyramb, since, according to the historian, this form of composition had not previously existed. Pindar supports Herodotus in the famous passage in which, along with the horse-bit and pedimental temple, he includes the invention of the 'ox-driving dithyramb of Dionysus' among the glories of Corinth.

My critic plainly felt that he had failed to break down my position, for (p. 54) he admits that 'it cannot be shown conclusively either that the dithyramb was or that it was not Dorian in its rudimentary form.' He further admits that 'Archilochus, in a fragment of whom we first happen to hear of it, was not a Dorian; but the best evidence we have tends to show that it was in Dorian Corinth that both it and the tragic chorus first took literary shape. This is all that is needed to explain the Dorian tradition mentioned by Aristotle.' But as Aristotle does not endorse the Dorian claim, and as it was the Aeolian Arion

who first gave 'literary shape' to the dithyramb, Mr. Cambridge might just as well argue that because Handel composed the *Messiah* and many other great works in England, the English race are to be credited with the creation of the Handelian music.

2. He says that my arguments 'against ascribing a peculiarly Dionysiac character to the earliest dithyramb are unconvincing.'

The arguments for the old view that the dithyramb was originally peculiar to Dionysus are (1) that Archilochus says that when 'thunder-smitten with wine' he knows how to lead a fair song in honour of Dionysus, a dithyramb; (2) Pindar speaks of the 'ox-driving dithyramb of Dionysus'; (3) Pratinas (500 B.C.) called Dionysus *θριαμβο-διθύραμβος*; (4) Euripides' *Bacchae* also terms the god *Διθύραμβος*; (5) it has been universally assumed that Aristotle, in his passage on the origin of Tragedy (*Poetics* 4), holds the dithyramb to be Dionysiac in origin, because he alludes to the Satyric drama in the same passage. I have pointed out that Archilochus does not ascribe the dithyramb exclusively to Dionysus, and that Pindar only speaks of the 'ox-driving' dithyramb as belonging to the god, neither poet excluding the use of the dithyramb in honour of others, gods and heroes; that Simonides (born 567 B.C.) wrote a dithyramb on Memnon, and that Bacchylides composed two dithyrambs on Theseus and one on Apollo. Mr. Cambridge admits that my explanations of the passages of Archilochus and Pindar are possible. Furthermore, Aristotle nowhere in his writings says that Tragedy originated in the worship of Dionysus, nor does he assign the dithyramb exclusively to that god. My critic admits that 'there is no doubt that at the end of the sixth century B.C. and afterwards dithyrambs were composed in honour of other personages than Dionysus, just as paeans were composed in honour of others than Apollo. But just as Paean is not a title of any but Apollo, so 'Dithyrambus' is not a title of any but Dionysus, and a strong presumption is afforded by these facts that the dithyramb was originally a chant addressed

to him. We need not, therefore, give up the belief that the dithyramb was Dionysiac, and probably Dorian in its first literary form.' Thus the sole bulwark for the old doctrine is the epithet *Dithyrambos*. But this bulwark depends solely on the assumption that the *paean* was originally confined to Apollo, which is contrary to fact, for not only is Paeon in Homer a different personage from Apollo, but the *paean* also was not confined to Apollo, since the Achaeans certainly did not sing the *paean* in honour of that god when they returned to the ships after the fall of Hector (*Iliad* XXIII. 391). Apollo was not the war-god of the Achaeans, and in the games it was only the archers who prayed to him for aid. Thus breaks down the analogy on which my critic bases his argument that because from 500 B.C. some Greeks applied the epithet *Dithyrambos* to Dionysus, the *dithyramb* must have originally been peculiar to that god.

As the old theory depends entirely on Aristotle's statement that tragedy arose *ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον*, it is full time to show what Aristotle meant by the *dithyramb* from which Tragedy arose. I hold that with him the dithyramb included as its theme heroes and other gods as well as Dionysus. Aristotle does not say that Tragedy arose from the leaders of the dithyramb of Dionysus or from the leaders of the ancient dithyramb, nor yet from the dithyramb produced by Arion at Corinth. That Aristotle held that there was only one kind of dithyramb, and that it could be sung alike in praise of heroes and of gods other than Dionysus, can be proved from the *Poetics* itself. Timotheus, the dithyrambic poet (447-357 B.C.), had composed eighteen dithyrambs. Aristotle (*Poetics*, 1448, a 15), when speaking of dithyrambs, cites the *Cyclops* of Timotheus as an example, and again (1454, a 31, cf. 1461, b 32) he refers to a *threnos* of Odysseus in the *Scylla*, another dithyramb of Timotheus. Though it might be argued that the *Cyclops* was Dionysiac, this cannot be urged for the *Scylla*. As Aristotle, after his first mention of Timotheus, speaks of only one kind of dithyramb in the passage on Tragedy (1449, a 11),

and later cites the *Scylla*, an undoubted heroic subject, as an example of the same, it is certain that he knows only of one class, and that when he holds that Tragedy arose with the leaders of the dithyramb, he is not thinking of the dithyramb as exclusively belonging to Dionysus, but as a form to be used in honour of heroes and gods amongst whom Dionysus was included. This accords completely with the fact that Aristotle nowhere states that Tragedy arose from the worship of that god. No wonder, then, that Mr. Cambridge's faith failed him towards the close of his review, when he admits that though he 'finds great difficulty in accepting most of [my] arguments, he 'does not feel satisfied with our scanty knowledge of the early history of tragedy.'

3. I hold that Tragedy proper arose out of the worship of heroes, and that the Satyric drama, which arose out of the original Thracian cult of Dionysus, is the only true Dionysiac element in Tragedy. My critic 'heartily agrees' with me that 'Tragedy and Satyric drama are undoubtedly distinct in origin, and some of the reasons for this conclusion are well stated, for the first time in English literature, in the present work.' He adds that 'the whole question was admirably discussed by Reisch (*Festschr. für Gomperz*, 1902), and that 'it is a pity that I did not know of that work: he would have found his own conclusions anticipated in many points.' I certainly missed Reisch's article, just as my critic himself overlooked it in his edition of Haigh's *Attic Theatre* in 1907. From the words just cited the reader would suppose that Reisch had anticipated my general doctrine of the dual origin of Tragedy proper and the Satyric drama. But this is not so. Reisch holds that the Satyrs were vegetation creatures indigenous in Peloponnesus, and that the Sileni were Ionian in origin, whilst he never dreamed of the worship of heroes as a chief element. He assumes, without an iota of proof, that on the coming of Dionysus the Satyrs of Peloponnesus and the Ionic Sileni became attached to his cult, and he repeats simply the old doctrine that both kinds of Tragedy arose in the worship of that god, with



the slight modification that from the outset there were two kinds of Dionysiac ritual. In this he is followed by Mr. Cambridge. But the only ground for this assumption is Suidas's statement respecting Arion: *λέγεται καὶ τραγικοῦ τρόπου εὐρετῆς γενέσθαι καὶ πρῶτος χόρον στήσαι καὶ διθύραμβον ᾄσαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι τὸ ἀδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χόρου καὶ Σατύρους εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας*. Reisch, followed by Mr. Cambridge, assumes that the tragic form, the dithyramb, and the Satyr chorus were three distinct kinds of literature, though he can adduce not a single scrap of evidence in support of his interpretation. The passage simply refers to Arion's famous dithyramb taught to a chorus of fifty at Corinth, and as it was certainly in honour of Dionysus, naturally his attendant Satyrs were in it. Such is the foundation on which Reisch erected his theory of a dual Dionysiac origin for Tragedy proper and the Satyric drama—Tragedy proper from the dithyramb, 'or at least from choruses so like it as to be afterwards confused with it;' the Satyric drama from the Satyric chorus indigenous in Peloponnesus, and developed into a literary form by Arion. In reference to my view that the Satyrs came from Thrace with Dionysus, and that they arose out of the Satrae (Leake's view), my critic says that I have 'overlooked the fact that similar half-bestial creatures of the imagination occur in the primitive beliefs of other Indo-European peoples, under various names.' He, however, admits that Dionysus came from Thrace, and though he has apparently adopted Reisch's view in its entirety (p. 53) as against mine, once more his faith fails him before the end, for (p. 58) he incidentally admits that the Satyric drama was 'perhaps Thracian in origin,' thus abandoning Reisch's fundamental point that the Satyrs and their rude songs were primitive in Peloponnesus.

I challenge my critic to produce any parallel to the Satyrs—a genuine case where the god on whom such beings attend had his chief shrine among a great tribe whose name is practically the same as that of his mythic attendants; whose priests were a clan of the

same great tribe; whose male attendants in the earliest representations in Attic art are half-man, half-horse, the very type on the coins of that part of Thrace where lay his shrine; and whose female attendants wore foxskins and fawnskins, the national Thracian dress, and in whose ancient land, down to the present, obscene ceremonies are still performed by mummers dressed in goatskins, and until recently in foxskins and fawnskins.

Plainly, then, Reisch did not anticipate my theory, since he holds its opposite, whilst his attempt to find a dual Dionysiac origin for Tragedy proper and the Satyric drama has no foundation in fact.

4. I based my theory that Tragedy proper arose from the worship of heroes on the well-authenticated cult of Adrastus at Sicyon, where he was honoured with tragic *τραγικοί χόροι* referring to his sorrows. About 600 B.C. Cleisthenes transferred the *tragic dances* to Dionysus. This passage was formerly cited as the best evidence for the early connection of Dionysus with Tragedy. But since I pointed out that Dionysus was only superimposed on the cult of the hero, it is amusing to see the efforts to prove that the tragic dances were not *mimetic*, and that they were in fact only songs alluding to the sorrows of the hero. But even Reisch thinks that there were gestures as well as words, which is to admit that they were *mimetic*. I also cited the dramatic performance at Tegea in honour of Scephrus (to whose cult that of Apollo had been added) to show that the Greeks believed that the dead were pleased by having their sufferings dramatised. My critic says that these are only two cases, and that they differ from the usual ritual of heroes. But there was no Act of Uniformity in Greece. I also showed that dramatic performances were only one kind of the various ways of honouring and propitiating the dead, such as funeral games, etc. But he completely ignores the all-important fact that the Greeks believed that Sicyon was the mother of Tragedy, that Epigenes of Sicyon was the first tragic writer, and that, according to some ancient authorities, he composed dramas which made no reference to

Dionysus, and that, too, at least as early, if not earlier, than Arion's dithyramb at Corinth. Whilst Reisch and Mr. Cambridge postulate rude songs and dances in Peloponnesus which have no base in literature, we have undoubted evidence for *tragic dances* of a mimetic character at Sicyon long before Arion's time, alluding to a hero's sorrows, before the coming of Dionysus, and for that town being the birthplace of Tragedy and the home of Epigenes, the first dramatic writer. I supported these facts by the analogy of native dramas in other countries and ages, e.g. the Passion Play of Ober-Ammergau to please Christ, etc. He disputes the validity of three of my analogies—the Tibetan and the Vedda dramas, and the funeral ceremonies of Beowulf. But the Lama play is to honour Buddhist saints, and is thus parallel to the mediaeval *Mysteries* and *Miracles*, whilst the essence of the Vedda drama, which my critic thinks 'is a piece of magic designed to secure good hunting,' consists in the propitiation of the spirit of the great hunter Kande Yaka. Finally, I cite the funeral of Beowulf (p. 33), not as a drama, but as one of my numerous examples proving the general belief 'in the desire of the hero to be had in remembrance,' and not amongst my examples of primitive dramas (pp. 94-108). I also showed that the numerous tombs, *threnoi* and *kommoi* in the extant Greek tragedies, cannot be accounted for on the mere supposition that the Greek dramatists, like the Elizabethan, simply drew on human life. My critic has not attempted to meet my argument that tombs appear in Greek plays in far greater proportion than in Shakespeare's tragedies.

5. I am glad of an opportunity for saying that I believe my interpretation of the obscure passage on the *Thymele* and *Bomos* in Pollux is wrong. My friend and former pupil, Mr. A. Gow, Fellow of Trinity College, will shortly publish a paper (a proof of which I have seen), in which he shows that the *Thymele* was an *eschara*, and the close connection of ὁ ἐπ' ἐσχάρας Διόνυσος with the theatre at Athens. But the *eschara* was used for sacrifices to heroes just as the *bomos* was for the Olympian

gods. Thus there was certainly a survival of hero-worship in the Attic theatre. Dionysus himself is termed hero, or else it was a survival from the cults of other heroes. As I argued, whether Tragedy proper be Dionysiac in origin or not, it certainly arose in the worship of the dead, since Dionysus himself was a *ἥρως*.

6. Now for Attic Tragedy and Thespis. The evidence represents Thespis as later than Epigenes and many other dramatic writers, as having come from Icaria to Athens, as carrying about his company on a waggon and performing anywhere he could get an audience, as shocking Solon by his performances, and (according to Diogenes) as the inventor of the single actor. Taking all the scanty data together, I inferred that his great step was not the invention of the single actor, since already the leader of the chorus (according to Pollux) had been separated from the others, and Thespis may have pushed this further, but the lifting of Tragedy from being a mere piece of ritual attached to a particular shrine into a great literary form, to be enacted anywhere just as the mediaeval drama arose from the sacred dramas performed in churches. Mr. Cambridge stands by the invention of the single actor, but he does not explain the tradition embodied by Horace, which is in accord with the statement that Thespis went to Athens from Icaria. But no efforts at reconstructing history have any value which ignore evidence just as good as that on which the theorist relies. He admits that at least one play of Thespis of which we have the name must have been on a non-Dionysiac subject. He holds that Attic Tragedy got its real inspiration between 550-525 B.C. from 'the stream of lyrical drama set flowing by Arion.' But as Thespis was not confined to Dionysiac themes, and as Phrynichus' famous plays were not Dionysiac, and as the extant plays of Aeschylus, the real founder of Attic Tragedy (499 B.C.), do not even mention the name of Dionysus (Bacchos once), there is no evidence that before the supposed influence of Arion had come Dionysiac subjects were already dramatised, whilst it is clear that the immediate successors of Thespis, the

true founders of the drama, made their fame by non-Dionysiac themes.

I much regret that space prevents me from dealing in detail with Mr. Cambridge's minor criticisms. But he has failed to break down my arguments against the Dorian and the Dionysiac origin of Tragedy proper, as well as those for its origin in the worship of the dead, such as that of Adrastus at Sicyon, the mother of Tragedy. No wonder that he admits in the end that he 'is not satisfied with our scanty knowledge of the early history of Tragedy,' and thinks that 'there is some prospect of a solution on somewhat different lines from those on which Prof. Ridgeway works—a consideration of the Dionysiac worship itself in its chthonian aspect.' He thus abandons the old theory. Yet he is not 'ready to adopt Dieterich's suggestions as they

stand,' but rests his hopes on the followers of Dieterich, *i.e.* on the general assumption that chthonian and theromorphous beings, vegetation spirits, etc., are prior to the belief in the existence of the spirits of the dead. As Aeschylus, who probably knew more about 'chthonian aspects' than Dieterich and his followers, held that they were the dead (*χθόνιοι θήκας κατέχοντες*), the 'chthonian' path on which Mr. Cambridge has entered, leads him straight to my theory. I have already tried to show (*Origin of Great Games of Greece, Athenæum*, May 20, 1911) that the belief in the spirits of the dead is primary, whilst vegetation spirits, etc., are only secondary phenomena arising from the former. I hope to deal with the followers of Dieterich at length before long.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

## VERSES

ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΟΥΤ ΕΝ ΜΑΓΧΕΣΤΡΙΑΙ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΥΤ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝ  
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΣΤΗΝΘΙΑΣΩΤΑΙΣ· ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΤΧΗ.

Χαίρετ', Ἀθηναῖοι, θεῖον γένος, οὐρανίωνες,  
τηλόθεν ἐκ νήσου πέμψαμεν ἀγγελίην·  
χαίρομεν ἐς σεμνὴν χημεῖς κληθέντες ἑορτήν,  
σύν τε θεωροῦμεν ταῖσδε πανηγύρεσι.  
Ἄλλοι ἐπιστήμην ἄλλῃ μελέτησαν ἑπακτόν,  
ὕμιν δ' ἔμφυλον τοῦτο πέφυκε τέλος·  
οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυός εἰς ὕμιν σοφοὶ οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης·  
πρεσβύτερος πάντων ὑμέτερος θίασος.  
ἤρξατ' ἐπεὶ πρῶτός τε καθηγητῶν καὶ ἄριστος  
ἐς μέσον ἀστοῖσιν θῆκ' ἐλεγεία Σόλων·

ἤκμασεν ὥς τις ἔδωκε νέφ μετεωρολογούντι  
Σωκράτει ἐς χεῖρας βιβλί' Ἀναξαγόρου,  
ἐν δ' Ἀκαδημείᾳ πλάτανος πτελέα ψιθύριζεν  
ἦρος, Ἀριστοτέλῃν δ' ἐξεδίδασκε Πλάτων.  
Οὐ τοι ἔφν λιπαρὴ καὶ ἰοστέφανος πόλις ἡμῶν,  
ἐν δ' ὀμίχλῃς ῥυπαρὴ κείται ὑπερβορείοις·  
ἡμῖν δὲ λίνον ἐγχωρον τέχναι τε βάνανσοι,  
ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς σοφίης πᾶσα πέφευγε χάρις·  
πίδακος Ἑλληνος βαῖα λιβὰς ἐνθάδ' ἐπιρρεῖ·  
χήμιν Ἀθηναίῃ χεῖρας ὕπερθεν ἔχει.

R. M. BURROWS.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

*Publishers and Authors forwarding Books for review are asked to send at the same time a note of the price.*

*\* \* Excerpts and Extracts from Periodicals and Collections are not included in these Lists unless stated to be separately published.*

- Cereteli* (G.) and *Sobolevski* (S.) *Exempla Codicum Graecorum, litteris minusculis scriptorum annorumque notis instructorum* Vol. I. 21" x 16". 42 plates. Leipzig : O. Hassarowitz, 1911. Paper boards, M. 40.
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